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AN ENQUIRY  
INTO THE  
CONSTITUTION, DISCIPLINE, UNITY, & WORSHIP  
OF THE  
PRIMITIVE CHURCH,  
THAT FLOURISHED WITHIN  
THE FIRST THREE HUNDRED YEARS AFTER CHRIST.

BY LORD PETER KING.  
IN TWO PARTS.

PART I.

WITH REMARKS AND AN APPENDIX,

THE WHOLE COMPRISING AN ABRIDGMENT OF AN "ORIGINAL DRAUGHT  
OF THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH,"  
IN ANSWER TO THE ABOVE-MENTIONED DISCOURSE.

BY A CLERGYMAN OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.



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TO THE

REV. THOMAS LEGH CLAUGHTON, M.A.

VICAR OF KIDDERMINSTER,

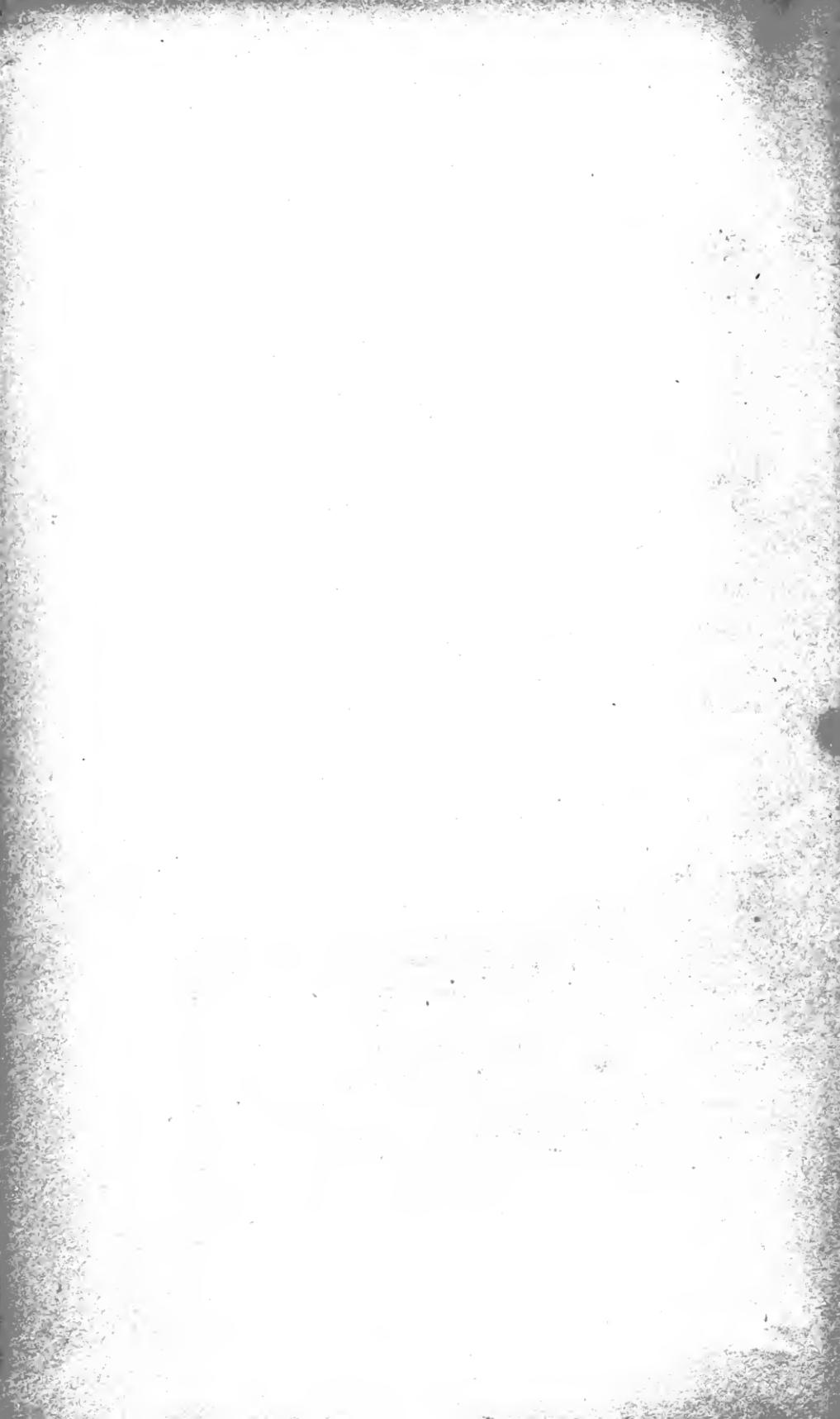
AND LATE FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, OXFORD,

THE FOLLOWING WORK

IS VERY FAITHFULLY AND GRATEFULLY INSCRIBED

BY

THE EDITOR.



## THE EDITOR'S PREFACE.

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THE Enquiry into the Constitution, Discipline, Unity, and Worship of the Primitive Church, is a work of extensive popularity, and confessedly exhibits, as a youthful performance, considerable ingenuity and research. It was written by Sir Peter (afterwards Lord Chancellor) King,\* at the

\* Lord Chancellor King was born at Exeter, in 1669, and, for some years, was brought up to his father's business in that city ; but having a strong inclination to learning, he laid out all the money he could spare in books, and devoted all his leisure hours to study. By the advice of his maternal uncle, Mr. Locke, he studied some time at Leyden, and afterwards entered at the Inner Temple. Raised by superior abilities to eminence, he obtained a seat in the House of Commons in 1699, for Beeralston, Devon. In 1708 he was made Recorder of London, and knighted by Queen Anne ; the next year he was one of the managers of the House of Commons, at the trial of Dr. Sacheverell. In 1714 he was appointed Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas ; and soon after was made one of the Privy Council. In 1725 he was created a peer, and succeeded Macclesfield, as Lord Chancellor.

early age of twenty-two years, with the professed design of “finding out what were the usages of the ancient Church, within the first three hundred years after Christ, and especially to describe their opinions and practices, with respect to those things that are now unhappily controverted between those who are commonly known by the names of Church of England-men, Presbyterians, Independents, and Anabaptists.” In order to conciliate the three last-mentioned parties, and to bring them to a suitable disposition for compromising matters with such as differ from them, he certainly concedes more than he ought, even straining antiquity to make it speak *their* sense, in the chief and fundamental points for which they respectively contend ; with the Church of England-men, I must say, he does not deal so *candidly and impartially*, as a perusal of his title-page and preface would lead and warrant us to expect. It must be confessed, however, that in support of his opinions, he does not appeal to antiquity (generally speaking) in a tone of confi-

It is said the public expectation was disappointed by his conduct in Chancery, as more of his decrees were repealed by the lords than had been known, for the short time he presided in the Court of Equity. He resigned the seals in 1733 ; and, weakened by a paralytic disorder, died at his seat, at Ockham, Surrey, 1734. *See Lemprière's Universal Biography. London, 1808.*

dence, much less of controversial bitterness ; he strongly recommends to all parties a spirit of peace, unity, and moderation ; and even seems anxious to heal divisions in the Church, and to give no offence to those who make them ; two works of charity, indeed, which can scarcely consist together, but which, at the same time, are highly laudable, when abstractedly considered. In his preface he desires that another sense might be given of his several quotations, (if need required,) for the better information of himself and others. So modest and reasonable a request was complied with, first of all, by Mr. Edmund Elys, between whom and Lord King some letters passed on the subject of the Enquiry ; and afterwards, by the Author of “An Original Draught of the Primitive Church”—a work so powerful and convincing, as ultimately to bring over the Enquirer to that Author’s opinion.\* But, notwithstanding this change in his views, and the complete refutation of his Treatise, which was shewn to contain palpable mistakes, and unfair representations of the writings of the Fathers, in almost every page, the Enquiry

\* See Daubeny’s Eight Discourses, &c. p. 91. Second Edition. London, 1802.

has frequently been triumphed in, as a proof of the writer's skill in Church history, and, by the less learned and more prejudiced adversaries of the Church of England, has been, and still is, proclaimed as an unanswerable vindication of their separation from her. Within the last five years, the work having become scarce, a new edition \* has appeared, and that in a form certainly better calculated to advance the cause of separatists, than the discovery of truth. The Latin and Greek quotations, as they are to be found in the original, are here omitted, the Editor presuming that our Enquirer had given a faithful and unprejudiced translation of them. Such an omission cannot but be sensibly felt by all serious and impartial enquirers after truth. There is no small danger of being misled by *quotations*; which, if they do not distinctly favour the writer's opinion, may at least be conceived capable of being so understood, or which, in some way or other, remotely relate to the subject; but which, if inserted at length, would at once be perceived to bear very little on it.

\* An Enquiry into the Constitution, Discipline, Unity, and Worship of the Primitive Church, &c. By Sir Peter King, Lord High Chancellor of England. London. S. Cornish and Co. 126, Newgate Street. 1839.

But the danger is still greater, when these quotations are wholly left out, as is the case in the above-mentioned publication, and mere references are given in their stead, the generality of readers never taking the trouble of turning to the passages in the original, but taking for granted that they afford each some degree of confirmation to what is maintained.\* To supply this defect, and to diminish for the reader the labour of forming an accurate and impartial judgment on the several subjects brought under consideration, is the chief design of this Volume: which comprises, 1st. a faithful reprint of the first † (and therefore chiefly controverted) part of the Enquiry, with the Latin and Greek quotations, as contained in the original Edition: and 2ndly, remarks by way of answer to such parts of the Enquiry as seemed most liable to objection. To those readers, who have it in their power to use any, or all, of the authors quoted in this work, the Editor begs to recommend, for their

\* See Whately's Elements of Logic, pp. 230, 231. Fifth Edition, 1834.

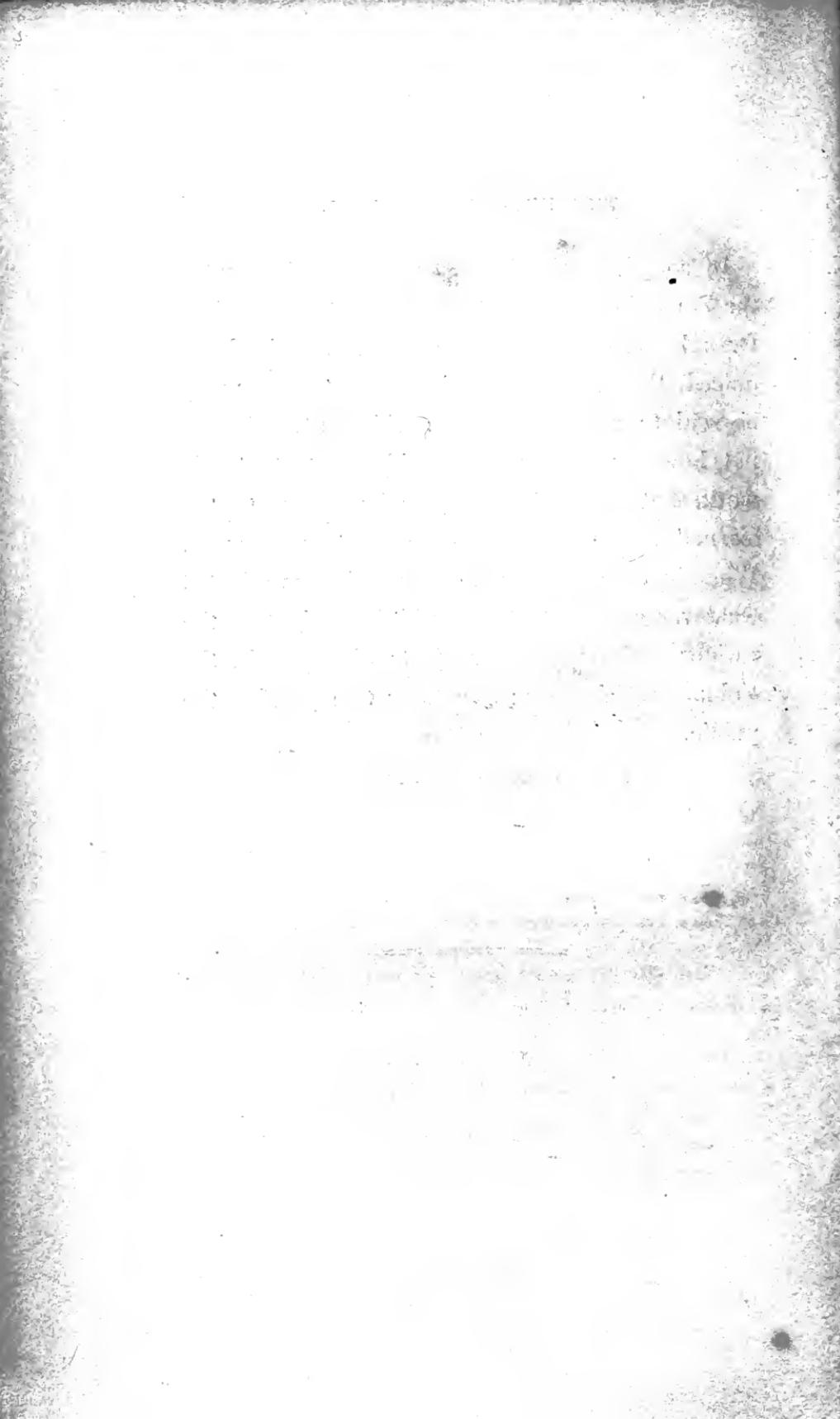
† The first part of the Enquiry treats of the Constitution, Discipline, and Unity; the second, of the Worship of the Primitive Church.

fuller satisfaction on each most questionable point, a careful perusal of those parts of the original text which precede and follow the sentence quoted ; and he earnestly hopes that *all* his readers, whether Churchmen or Dissenters, will kindly take the trouble of examining the witnesses and hearing counsel on both sides, before they bring in their verdict. To a *due* enquiry, it is always necessary that we should impartially examine both sides of the question ; and that while we are doing so, we should keep both our ears open to the matter in debate, and equally attend to what can be said *for* as well as to what can be said *against* it ; and then that, upon a full hearing of both, we should determine, as nearly as we can, on which side the truth lies, without favour or affection. The advice of Dr. Campbell\* is confessedly that of a wise and candid mind : “ Revere truth above all things, wherever you find it. Attend coolly and candidly to the voice of reason, from what quarter soever it comes. Let not the avenues to your understanding be choked up with prejudices and prepossessions, but be always open to conviction.”

\* Dr. Campbell's Lectures on Ecclesiastical History, p. 96. London, 1834.

In compiling the Remarks upon the Enquiry, the Editor has chiefly extracted from the "Original Draught of the Primitive Church," of which, indeed, the Remarks and Appendix together may be said to comprehend an abridgment. He has not, however, merely confined himself to that able work, but has occasionally had recourse to the learned and useful labours of Potter, Pearson, Wheatly, &c.; from each of whom he has selected whatever seemed to throw additional light on the various and important subjects discussed in the Volume, which he now ventures to lay before the public.

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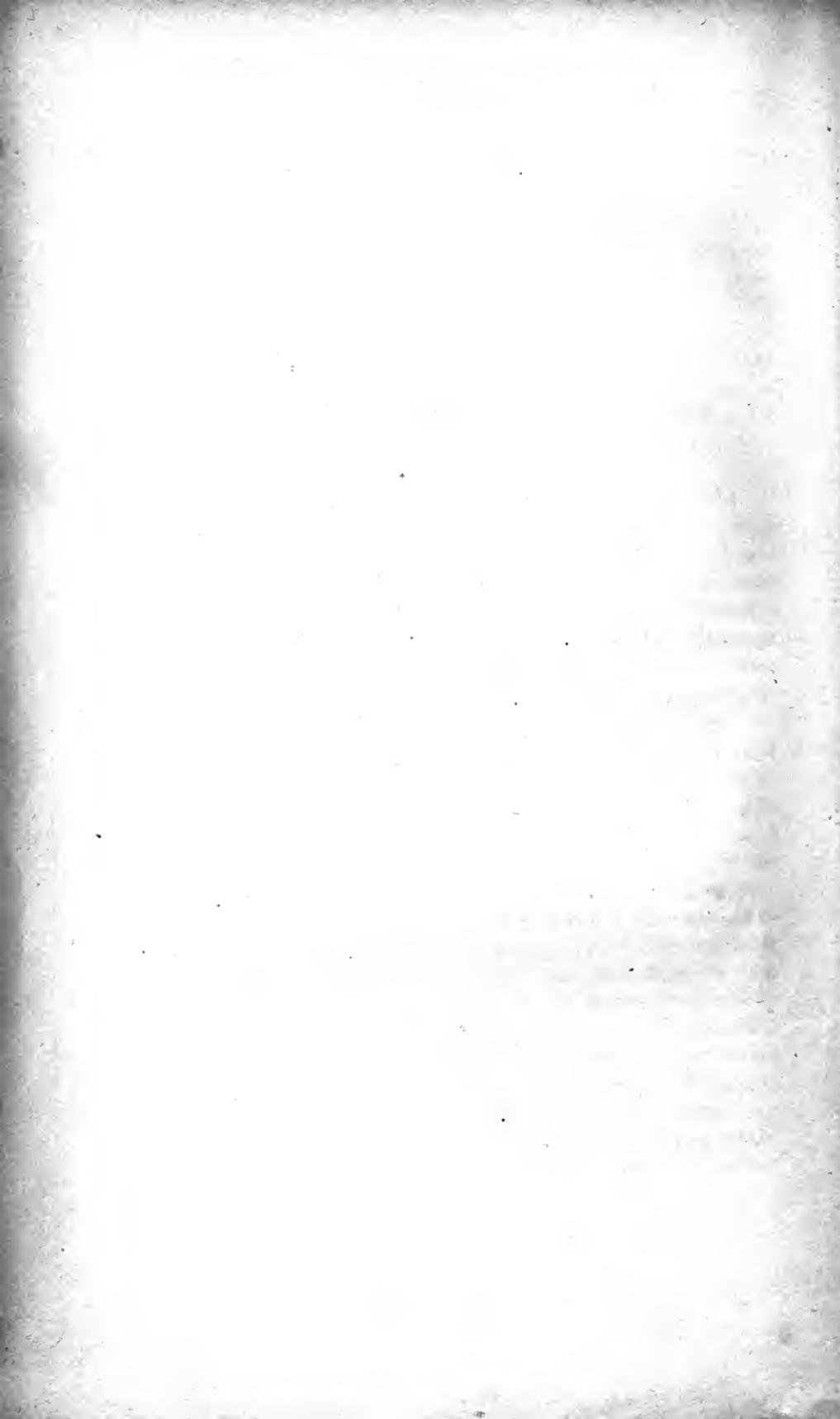


A N E N Q U I R Y  
INTO THE  
CONSTITUTION, DISCIPLINE, UNITY AND WORSHIP,  
OF THE  
*Primitive Church,*  
THAT FLOURISHED WITHIN THE FIRST THREE  
HUNDRED YEARS AFTER CHRIST.  
FAITHFULLY COLLECTED OUT OF THE EXTANT WRITINGS OF  
THOSE AGES.  
BY AN IMPARTIAL HAND.

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LONDON :

PRINTED FOR JONATHAN ROBINSON AT THE GOLDEN LION, AND  
JOHN WYAT AT THE ROSE IN ST. PAUL'S CHURCHYARD, 1691.



## THE PREFACE TO THE READER.

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*THE Design of the following Treatise is in general to represent the Constitution, Discipline, Unity and Worship of the Primitive Church, that flourish'd within the first Three Hundred Years after Christ; but more particularly and especially to describe their Opinions and Practices, with respect to those things that are now unhappily controverted between those of these Kingdoms, who are commonly known by the Names of Church of England-men, Presbyterians, Independents and Anabaptists; for which reason it comes to pass, that to those points, concerning which there is no difference amongst us, I have not spoken so largely as otherwise I might have done; and some other Customs of theirs I have not mentioned at all, because now neglected and disused by us.*

*What I have written as to this Subject, I have wholly collected out of the Genuine and unquestionably Authentick Writings of those Ages, that are now extant, making use of no other Writings whatsoever, except the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius, which was writ in the beginning of the Fourth Age, and relates only those Affairs which were transacted in the Three former, beyond the period of which time this Enquiry doth not reach; but is wholly limited thereby, and confined thereunto. That which hath been thus collected, has been done, I hope, with the greatest Impartiality and Fidelity, without any Prepossession of Mind, or any fraudulent dealing*

THE PREFACE.

*whatsoever, which the Reader may the sooner believe, and the easier be convinced of, since for the clearer Demonstration of my Faithfulness and Unprejudicedness herein, I have taken care to print in the Margin the Original Words of all the Passages that I have cited, at least of all that are necessary, together with the very Pages whence I fetch'd them, that so the Reader turning to the Pages mentioned in those Editions that I use, (which Editions I shall set down at the end of this Preface) and finding it according to my Quotations, may the more readily be perswaded that throughout this whole Tract I have been every way honest and unbyass'd.*

*And as I have faithfully and impartially collected these Observations, so I have as modestly and unconcernedly represented them, avoiding all Words or Speeches that might seem to carry the least Sharpness or Reflection in them, and have as nakedly expressed them, declining all affected or pompous Expressions, contenting my self with those Terms, that most naturally serve to render the Truth more perspicuous and evident, according to the Observation of Clemens Alexandrinus,*

\* Δεῖ τῆς ἀληθείας κηδόμενον, οὐκ ἐξ ἐπιθεύλης καὶ φροντίδος τὴν φράσιν συνθεῖναι παιξάσθαι δὲ ὀνομάζειν μόνον ὡς δύναται δὲ βούλεται. Stro-  
mat. lib. 2. p. 263.

\* He that would deliver the Truth, ought not studiously to affect an Elegancy of Expression, but only to use such Words, whereby he may render what he means intelligible.

*Whether all, or some, or none of the following Primitive Customs may be changed by the Civil Magistrate, or by a Convocational Assembly, I pretend not here to handle; my Design at present is only to search into Matter of Fact, to find out what were the Usages of the Ancient Church within the first Three Hundred Years after Christ; for, as was said before, no lower do I intend to go; which after the most impartial and serious Enquiry, I find to be according to the ensuing Treatise, in the penning whereof I have avoided all*

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*Prolixity and Tedium, and for that end omitting to answer several Objections, that I know may be made against several Things which I have here asserted, mine Intention being briefly and perspicuously to prove what I judge to be the true Practice of the Primitive Church, as to those Points now disputed by us.*

*As for the Occasion of my Publishing this Treatise, it cannot be imagined to proceed from a Spirit of Vanity or Ambition, since I so far conceal my Name, as that even my Bookseller knows not who I am; much less, I hope, will it be construed by any, to proceed from a Spirit of Contention and Animosity, from an ill Design to foment and increase our present Feuds and Divisions; since I assure the whole World, our unnatural Quarrels do much afflict and trouble me, as that I would sacrifice not only this Book, but also all that I either am or have, if thereby I might be an happy Instrument to compose and heal them. But amongst other Reasons, these Two were the chiefest that swayed me hereunto, To inform others, and, To inform my self: To inform others what the Practices of the Primitive Apostolic Churches were, if any shall be inquisitive and desirous to know them; or, if I am mistaken, (as who is without his Errors?) to be better informed my self, which, I must needs confess, was that which I chiefly designed in the Publication hereof; wherefore without any Ostentation or Challenging, but unfeignedly and sincerely to prevent Mistakes in my younger Years, I humbly desire, (if the Request be not too bold) and shall heartily thank any Learned Person, that will be so kind as to inform me, if he knows me to have erred in any one, or more Particulars, which he may do, either Publickly, or if he thinks fit, Privately, by Letter to my Bookseller, who will convey it safely to my Hands; and if any one that*

THE PREFACE.

*finds me deceived in any one or more Points, will Favour me so far, as to undertake such a Trouble, I should desire these few Things of him, That he would be pleased, as I have done, to use only those Writings that were composed within my prescribed Time, and if possible, the same Editions, and not only to form Objections against what I have written, but also to answer, or rather to give me another Sense of those Passages which I have cited, and then I promise, if my Mistakes are fairly shewn, I will not pertinaciously and obstinately defend them, but most willingly and thankfully renounce them, since my Design is not to defend a Party, but to search out the Truth.*

*I have but one thing more to add in this Preface, and that is, that when I first resolved on the printing of this Treatise, I designed to have published my Observations on the Fourth general Head propounded in the Title Page to be enquired into, viz. The Worship of the Primitive Church, as well as now I have done those on the three Former, but for some Reasons I have reserved this for a particular Tract by itself, which probably, though I do not absolutely promise it, may in a little Time more be also published; and that the rather, because in this Part I have made two or three References thereunto, which I thought good to acquaint the Reader with, that so if he cannot find some Things that I have referred to in this Treatise, he may be assured they are to be met with in the ensuing one.*

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The Primitive Authors mentioned in this Treatise, together with those Editions that I have made use of, are as follow.

*S. Ignatii Epistolæ Græco-Latin.* Quarto, Edit. Isaci Vossii. Amstelodam. 1646.

*S. Barnaba Epistola Catholica,* Edit. ad Calcem S. Ignatii, Quarto. Amstelodam. 1646.

*S. Clementis Romani Epistola Græco-Latin.* Quarto Edit. Patricii Junii. Oxonii, 1633.

*S. Irenæi Opera,* Folio. Edit. Nic. Galasii. Genevæ, 1580.

*S. Justini Martyris Opera Græco-Latin.* Folio. Coloniæ, 1686.

*Epistola Plinii Secundi Trajano Imperatori de Christianis in fronte Operum Justin. Martyr.* Colon. 1686.

*Clementis Alexandrini Opera,* Folio. Edit. Heinsii. Lugdun. Batav. 1616.

*Tertulliani Opera,* Folio Edit. Paris. 1580.

*Novatiani De Trinitate et De Cibis Judaicis inter Opera Tertulliani.* Edit. Paris. 1580.

*Cypriani Opera,* Folio. Edit. Sim. Goulart. apud Johan. le Preux. 1593.

*Vita Cypriani per Pontium ejus Diaconum.* In fronte Oper. Cyprian Edit. Goulart. 1593,

*Fragmentum Victorini Petavionensis De Fabrica Mundi,* pag. 103, 104. *Histor. literar.* Dr. S. Cave, Edit. Folio. Londini, 1688.

*Minucii Felices Octavius Edit. ad Calcem Tertullian. Apolog.* per Desiderium Heraldum. Quarto. Paris. 1613.

AUTHORS CITED IN THIS TREATISE.

*Origenis Commentaria omnia quæ Græce Reperiuntur, Edit. de Huetii. 2 Vol. Folio. Rothomagi. 1668.*

*Origenis contra Celsum, Libri Octo, et ejusdem Philocalia Græco-Latin. Edit. Quarto, per Gulielm. Spencer. Cantabrigiæ, 1677.*

*Origenis περὶ ἵψης, seu, De Oratione. Græco-Latin. Octavo. Oxonii. 1685.*

As for those other Works of *Origen* which are extant only in Latin, I have made no use at all of those of *Ruffin's* Translation, except his Creed, since in them we know not which we read, whether *Origen* or *Ruffin*; and as for those which were translated by more faithful Hands, I have used the Editions of *Merlin* or *Erasmus*, without nominating the Page.

*Eusebii Pamphili Ecclesiastica Historia Græco-Latin. Folio. Edit. Henric. Vales. Paris. 1659.* I have read only the Seven first Books of *Eusebius's* History, because the three others go beyond my limited Time.

As for the Writings of S. *Gregory of Neocæsarea*, they are but few, and from thence I have taken nothing but his Creed, so that there is no need to mention any Edition of his Works. The same I may say also of the short Epistle of *Polycarp*, which I have cited but once, and therein have used the Version of Dr. *Cave*, extant in his *Apostolici*, pag. 127.

There are yet some other Fathers whose remaining Tracts I have read, as *Theophilus Antiochenus*, *Athenagoras*, &c. who are not cited in this Treatise, because I have found nothing in them pertinent to my Design.



AN ENQUIRY INTO THE CONSTITUTION, DISCIPLINE,  
UNITY, AND WORSHIP, OF THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH.

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## CHAPTER I.

§. 1. *The various Significations of the word Church.* §. 2. *A particular Church the chief Subject of the ensuing Discourse : The constituent parts thereof, Twofold, viz. Clergy and Laity.* §. 3. *Each of these had their particular functions, and both their joint Offices : Three Things on which a great part of the following Discourse depends, proposed to be handled, viz. The Peculiar Acts of the Clergy, The Peculiar Acts of the Laity, and the Joint Acts of them both.* §. 4. *The Peculiar Acts of the Clergy propounded to be discussed according to their several Orders : First, of the Bishops : A View of the World as it was in a State of Heathenism, at the first Preaching of Christianity, necessary to be considered : Where the Apostles planted Churches, they appointed the first Converts to be Bishops thereof.* §. 5. *But one Bishop in a Church : The Orthodoxy of the Faith proved from the Succession of the Bishops : The Titles and relation of the Bishop to his Flock.*

§. 1. THAT we may give the more clear and distinct Answer to this Important Query, it is necessary, that we first examin the Primitive Notion of the Word *Church*,

upon the due apprehension of which depends the Right Understanding of a great Part of our following Discourse.

This Word, *Church*, as in our modern acceptation, so also in the Writings of the Fathers, is equivocal, having different Significations according to the different Subjects to which it is applyed. I shall not here concern my self about the Derivation of the Word, or its Original Use among the Heathens, from whom it was translated into the Christian Church; but only take notice of its various uses among the ancient Christians, which were many, as,

I. It is very often to be understood of the *Church Universal*, that is, of all those, who throughout the face of the whole Earth professed Faith in Christ, and acknowledged him to

<sup>1</sup> Ἡ ἐκκλησία, καθ' ὅλης τῆς ὁικου-  
μίνης ἔως πεζώτων τῆς γῆς διεσπαρ-  
μένη. *Lib. 1. cap. 2. p. 34.*

<sup>2</sup> Ἡ ἐκκλησία ἐν ἔλαφ τῷ κόσμῳ  
διεσπαρμένη. *Lib. 1. cap. 2. p. 36.*

<sup>3</sup> Ἡ ἐπὶ τῷ οὐρανῷ ἐκκλησία τοῦ  
Θεοῦ. *Apud Euseb. lib. 6. c. 25.*  
*p. 226.*

for *Catholick* signifies the same

<sup>4</sup> Πάστος τῆς κατα τὴν ὁικουμένην  
καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας. *Apud. Eus.*  
*l. 4. c. 15. p. 131.*

Sense *Dionysius Alexandrinus*  
<sup>5</sup> Τῆς καθολικῆς Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας  
πολέμιος. *Epist. ad Herm. apud*  
*Euseb. lib. 7. c. 10. p. 256.*

be the Saviour of Mankind. This *Irenaeus* calls, <sup>1</sup> *The Church dispersed thro' the whole World to the ends of the Earth*, and <sup>2</sup> *The Church scattered in the whole World*. And *Origen* calls it, <sup>3</sup> *The Church of God under Heaven*. This is that which they called the *Catholick Church*, as *Universal*. Thus *Polycarp* when he was seized by his Murderers, prayed for <sup>4</sup> *The Catholick Church throughout the World*. And in this calls the persecuting Emperor *Macrianus*, <sup>5</sup> *A Warrior against the Catholick Church of God*.

II. <sup>a</sup> The Word *Church* is frequently to be understood of a *particular Church*, that is, of a Company of Believers, who at one time, in one and the same place, did associate themselves together, and concur in the Participation of all the Institutions and Ordinances of Jesus Christ with their proper Pastors and Ministers. <sup>b</sup> Thus *Irenæus* mentions that Church <sup>c</sup> which is in any place. And so *Dionysius Alexandrinus* writes, that when he was banished to *Cephro* in *Lybia*, <sup>d</sup> there came so many

<sup>6</sup> Ea quæ est in quoque loco Ecclesia. *Lib. 2. c. 56. p. 158.*

<sup>d</sup> Πόλλη συνεπείδημας ἦμερις ἐκκλησία. *Apud Euseb. lib. 7. c. 11. p. 259.*

<sup>a</sup> The Author of the Enquiry mentions many different senses in which the word *Church* is used by the earliest Christian writers; but fixes upon one only, as *the usual and common acceptance of it*. This he professes chiefly to treat of, and is, indeed, the great hinge upon which most of his speculations turn. See Appendix, No. 1.

<sup>b</sup> Ea quæ est in quoque loco Ecclesia, or rather, in quoquo loco, as we find it in *Iren. I. 2. c. 56.* If our learned Enquirer infer from this passage that there was no other particular Church at that time in *any place* whatsoever, but just such an one as he has defined for us, he has taken for granted what he ought to prove.

No doubt, *Irenæus's* Church in any place was such a sort of Church, as they then understood a Church to be; but whether Parochial, Diocesan, Provincial, or any other kind whatsoever, as to the extent or circuit of it, is not at all clearer to us by his calling it a Church in *any place*. If *place* be such an affection of bodies, as conforms itself to every dimension of the thing that is applied to it, then for a thing to be said to be in *any place*, unless the particular measure of that place were expressed too, adds nothing in the least to prove of what extent that thing is.

<sup>c</sup> Πόλλη ἐκκλησία, that is, a pretty *numerous Church*. *Valesius*, in his Translation, calls it, *magna multitudo fidelium*. *Dionysius*

Christians unto him, that even there he had a *Church*. farther says, it consisted of a threefold concourse of Christians ; 1st, of all the brethren that came from *Alexandria* to him ; 2dly, of others that came out of *Egypt* thither : and 3dly, he tells us that before he left the place, *οὐκ ὀλίγοι τῶν ἐθῶν*, not a few of the heathens left their idols, and came over to *his Church*.

But in truth, the point in question does not lie here ; whether there was a *Church* in that place (or, indeed, in any other) that *de facto* had but one congregation to denominate it so ; but the true question is, whether if more congregations than one had been actually gathered or converted in any place whatsoever, and exercised their offices of Divine worship in distinct and separate places from one another, so that their first, proper, and chief Pastor could not possibly attend the service of them all ; whether the property must in such case be altered, and they could no longer be *one Church*, or be subject to one and the same supreme Ecclesiastical Governour (call him what we please), but must of necessity be then formed into more particular independent *Churches*, and a supreme Pastor unaccountable to the other (or to any one else,) must have presided over each of them, and denominated them as many particular *Churches*, as there were single assemblies that met together to celebrate the Ordinances of the Christian *Church*.

This our learned Enquirer should have proved from such authorities as he produces in defence of his own opinions, if he meant to support his fundamental scheme by them. But since it no where appears that he has done so, I must say, this is such a fundamental defect as renders the whole performance of very little use to his professed design of reconciling differences about the Constitution of the Primitive *Church*.

That *Dionysius* himself, in the very words quoted by our Enquirer, meant no such *Church* as could meet together for religious worship in one place only, and no otherwise, will, I think, evidently appear from that Father's account of his own *Church* of *Alexandria*. See Appendix, No. 2.

<sup>d</sup> *Tertullian* thinks that, <sup>8</sup> *Three were sufficient to make a Church.* In this Sense we must understand <sup>9</sup> *the Church of Rome, <sup>1</sup> the Church of Smyrna, <sup>2</sup> the Church of Antioch, <sup>3</sup> the Church of Athens, the Church of Alexandria, or the Church in any other such place whatsoever, that is, a Congregation of Christians assembling all together for religious Exercises at Rome, Antioch, Smyrna, Athens, Alexandria, or such like places.*

III. The Word *Church* is sometimes used for the Place, where a particular Church or Congregation met for the Celebration of Divine Service. Thus *Paulus Samosatenus* the Heretical Bishop of *Antioch*, ordered certain Women to stand <sup>4</sup> *in the middle of the Church*, and sing Psalms in his Praise. So *Clemens Alexandrinus* adviseth, that Men and Women should with all Modesty and Humility enter <sup>5</sup> *into the Church*. So <sup>5</sup> *Ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. Padag.* the Clergy of the Church of *lib. 3. c. 11. p. 189.*

<sup>d</sup> *Tertullian's* WHOLE sentence is this “ *Ubi tres, Ecclesia est, licet laici*,” that is, *Where three are, there a Church is, though they be all but Laymen.* Is it not strange, that such a Church as this, with but three Laymen in it, should be brought to explain the Primitive notion of a Particular Church associating together with their *Pastors* and *Ministers* for participation of the Ordinances and Institutions of Christ? And yet to this very quotation our ingenious Enquirer immediately subjoins: “ *In this sense we must understand the Church of Rome, of Smyrna, of Antioch, and, in short, in any other such place whatsoever.*”

<sup>8</sup> *Ubi tres, Ecclesia est. Exhort. ad Castitat. p. 457.*

<sup>9</sup> *Ecclesia Romana. Cyprian. Epist. 31. §. 3. p. 70.*

<sup>1</sup> Ἐκκλησία τῇ οὖσῃ ἐν Σμύρνῃ. *Ignat. ad Smirn. p. 1.*

<sup>2</sup> Τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὴν ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ. *Idem ibid p. 8.*

<sup>3</sup> Ἐκκλησία ἡ Ἀθηνῆσι, ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ. *Origen contr. Celsum, lib. 3. c. 129.*

<sup>4</sup> Ἐν μέσῃ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. *Epist. Synod. Antioch. apud Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 30. p. 281.*

*Rome* in their letter to *Cyprian*, concerning the Restitution

<sup>6</sup> Adeant ad limen Ecclesiæ. *Apud Cyprian. Epist. 31. § 7. p. 71.*

<sup>7</sup> *De præscript. advers. Hæret. p. 90. De Coronâ Militis, p. 336. And very often in his Book De Virginibus Velandis.*

<sup>8</sup> *De Orat. §. 20. p. 132.*

of the Lapsed, give as their advice, <sup>6</sup> *That they should only come to the threshold of the Church-door, but not go over it.* And in this Sense is the Word frequently to be understood in <sup>7</sup> *Tertullian, Origen*, and others to recite whose Testimonies at large

would be both tedious and needless.

IV. <sup>8</sup> I find the Word *Church* once used by *Cyprian*, for a Collection of many particular Churches, who mentions

<sup>8</sup> Our Enquirer observes, in this fourth notation of a Church, that he never met with the word *Church* used in the Singular Number by any of the Fathers for a collection of many particular Churches, except in *Cyprian*, who mentions the *Church of God in Africa and Numidia*.

Now there is something in *Irenæus* (quoted by himself too —see Margin page 9) which looks very much like it : for all the Christian Churches which were gathered from among

<sup>1</sup> *Ea, quæ ex Gentibus est, Ecclesia.* *Iren. lib. 4. c. 37.*

the Gentiles, that learned Father expresses <sup>1</sup> by a *Church*, in the Singular Number ; and

that implies a *collection of Churches* beyond all question.

But in truth I do not see what advantage this can be to the point in question, to observe that a particular Church is ordinarily expressed in the Singular Number, since it is a natural expression for it, and no otherwise explains the constituent parts of it, than to say, it is somewhere in some place or another : which does not clear up the notion of it. Nor is it of more use to observe, that National or Provincial Churches are usually expressed in the Plural Number, since it affords no evidence at all to prove what manner of Churches they were, that were comprehended under them ; which is the only point in question.

in the Singular Number, <sup>9</sup> *the Church of God in Africa and Numidia*: Else I do not remember, that ever I met

with it in this Sense, in any Writings either of this, or the rest of the Fathers; but whenever they would speak of the Christians in any kingdom or Province, they always said in the Plural, *The Churches*, never in the Singular, *The Church* of such a Kingdom or Province. Thus *Dionysius Alexandrinus* doth not say *the Church*, <sup>1</sup> but *the Churches of Cilicia*. And so *Irenæus* mentions, <sup>2</sup> *The Churches that were in Germany, Spain, France, the East, Egypt, and Lybia*. So also *Tertullian* speaks of the <sup>3</sup> *Churches of Asia and Phrygia*, and <sup>4</sup> *the Churches of Greece*. And so of every Country they always express the Churches thereof in the Plural Number.

V. The Word *Church* frequently occurs for that, which we commonly call the Invisible Church, that is, for those, who by a Sound Repentance and a lively Faith, are actually interested in the Lord Jesus Christ: According to this signification of the Word, must we understand *Tertullian*, when he says, *that Christ had* <sup>5</sup> *espoused the Church*, and that <sup>6</sup> *there was a Spiritual Marriage between Christ and the Church*. And that of *Irenæus*, <sup>7</sup> *That the Church was fitted according to the form of the Son of God*. And in this Sense is the

<sup>9</sup> *In Provinciâ Africâ et Numidiâ Ecclesiam Domini, Epist. 71. §. 4. p. 214.*

<sup>1</sup> *Αἱ τῆς Κιλικίας ἐκκλησίαι. Apud Euseb. lib. 7. c. 5. p. 251.*

<sup>2</sup> *Αἱ ἐν Γερμανίαις ἐκκλησίαι ἐν ταῖς Ἰερσίαις, ἐν Κελτοῖς, κατὰ τὰς Ανατολὰς ἐν Ἀιγύπτῳ, ἐν Λιβύῃ. Lib. 1. c. 3. p. 36.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ecclesiis Asiæ et Phrygiæ. Adversus Præream, p. 314.*

<sup>4</sup> *Per Greciam Ecclesiæ. De Virgin. Veland. p. 386.*

<sup>5</sup> *Christus sibi sponsabat ecclesiam. Advers. Marcion. lib. 4. p. 196.*

<sup>6</sup> *Spirituales nuptias Ecclesiæ et Christi. Exhort. ad Castitat. p. 455.*

<sup>7</sup> *Ecclesia ad figuram imaginis filii ejus coaptetur. Lib. 4. c. 72. p. 308.*

Word oftentimes used in others of the Fathers, as I might easily shew, if any one did doubt it.

VI. The word *Church* is frequently to be interpreted of the Faith and Doctrine of the Church. In this Sense

<sup>8</sup> *Conversos ad ecclesiam Dei, Lib. 3. c. 46. p. 229.* *Irenæus* prays, *That the <sup>8</sup>Hereticks might be reclaimed from their Heresies, and be converted to the Church of God* ; and exhorts all sincere Christians

<sup>9</sup> *Confugere ad Ecclesiam. Lib. 5. c. 17. p. 342.* not to follow Hereticks, but to <sup>9</sup>*fly to the Church* : Upon which account Hereticks

are said to have left the Church, as *Tertullian* told *Marcion*

<sup>1</sup> *Ab Ecclesiâ Christi recessisti. De carne Christi, p. 13.* that when he became a Heretick <sup>1</sup> *he departed from the Church of Christ*, and their

Heresies are said to be dissonant from the Church, as *Ori-*

<sup>2</sup> *Ἀλλότριον τῆς ἐκκλησίας. Comment. in Mat. Tom. 13. p. 304. Vol. 1.* *gen* writes, that the Opinion of the Transmigration of Souls was <sup>2</sup> *alien from the Church*.

There are yet several other Significations of this Word, though not so usual as some of the forementioned ones, nor so pertinent to my Design, so that I might justly pass them over, without so much as mentioning them: But lest any should be desirous to know them, I will just name them, and then proceed to what is more material.

Besides then those former Significations, the Word according to its Original Import is also used for any Congregation in general; sometimes it is applyed to any particular Sect of Hereticks, as *Tertullian* calls the *Marcionites* <sup>3</sup> *the Church of Marcion*:

<sup>3</sup> *Ecclesiam suam. Adversus Marcion. lib. 5. p. 255.* At other times it is attributed to the Orthodox

in opposition to the Hereticks, as by the same <sup>4</sup> *Tertullian*: Sometimes it is appropriated to the Heathen Assemblies, as by <sup>5</sup> *Origen*, at other times in Opposition to the Jews it is ascribed to the believing *Gentiles*, as by <sup>6</sup> *Irenæus*: In some places it is taken for the Deputies of a Particular Church, as in <sup>7</sup> *Ignatius*. In other places it signifies the Assembly of the Spirits of Heaven, which we commonly call the Church Triumphant, as in <sup>8</sup> *Clemens Alexandrinus*. Once I find it denoting the <sup>9</sup> Laity only, in Opposition to the Clergy: And once signifying only <sup>1</sup> Christ as the Head of the Faithful.

§. 2. But the usual and common Acceptation of the Word, and of which we must chiefly treat, is that of a Particular Church, that is, a Society of Christians, meeting together in one place under their proper Pastors, for the Performance of Religious Worship, and the exercising of Christian Discipline.

Now the first thing that naturally presents its self to our Consideration, is to enquire into the Constituent Parts of a Particular Church, or who made up and composed such a Church. In the general, they were called <sup>2</sup> *Elect*, <sup>3</sup> *the* <sup>2</sup> *Elect*, <sup>3</sup> *the*

<sup>4</sup> *Hæreses Ecclesiam lacessentes. De præscript. advers. Hæret.* p. 69.

<sup>5</sup> Ἐκκλησίαις δεισιδαιμόνιαν, καὶ ἀκολαστῶν, καὶ αδίκων. *Contra Cels. lib. 3.* p. 128.

<sup>6</sup> Ea quæ ex gentibus est Ecclesia, *Lib. 4. c. 37.* p. 271.

<sup>7</sup> Ἀσπάζομεν ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ Σμύρνης ἅμα ταῖς συμπαρούσαις μον ἐκκλησίαις τοῦ Θεοῦ. *Ad Philadelph.* p. 52.

just Men made perfect in the Church Triumphant,

<sup>8</sup> Οὐρανοὶ ἐκκλησίαν. *Padag. lib. 2. cap. 1.* p. 104.

<sup>9</sup> Ἐπίσκοποι καὶ Πρεσβύτεροι, καὶ Διάκονοι, καὶ αἱ ἐκκλησίαι τοῦ Θεοῦ. *Apud Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 30.* p. 279.

<sup>1</sup> Ecclesia vero Christus. *Tertullian de pænitentid.* p. 382.

<sup>2</sup> *Epist. Eccles. Smirn. ad Eccles. Philomil.* apud Euseb. *lib. 4. c. 15.* p. 134.

<sup>3</sup> Κλητοῖς καὶ ἡγιασμένοις ἐν Θελήματι Θεοῦ. *Clem. Roman. Epist. 1. ad Cor.* p. 1.

*Called and Sanctified by the Will of God.* And in innumerable places they are called Ἀδελφοὶ the Brethren, because of their Brotherly Love and Affection; and Πιστοὶ, the Faithful, in Opposition to the Pagan World, who had no Faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, nor in the Promises of the Gospel. But more particularly we may divide them into two Parts; into the People that composed the Body of the Church, and those Persons who were set apart for Religious and Ecclesiastical Employments: <sup>1</sup> Or to conform to our ordinary

<sup>4</sup> Τοῖς ἰερεῖσιν ἕδιος ὁ τὸπος ἀρροτέτακται, ὁ λαϊκὸς ἀνθεωπὸς τοῖς λαϊκοῖς ἀρροτάγμασιν δέδοται.

*Epist. 1. ad Cor. p. 53.*

<sup>5</sup> *Homil. 2. in Jerem. p. 113,* <sup>114. Vol. 1.</sup>

Dialect, into the Clergy and Laity, which is an early Distinction, being mentioned by <sup>4</sup> *Clemens Romanus*, and after him by <sup>5</sup> *Origen*, and several others.

§. 3. Each of these had their particular Offices, and both together had their joyned Employments, to all which I shall

<sup>1</sup> Our Author's first division of the Members of a Church is just and unexceptionable. He distinguishes them both, as primitive and modern Christians do, into Clergy and Laity.

His division of the Clergy <sup>2</sup> Page 11.  
afterwards into their particu-

lar Orders and Degrees (as far as Names and Titles go) is as Orthodox and Primitive as the other. For *Bishops*, *Priests*, and *Deacons* (so called at least by him) are as approved Ecclesiastical Officers in his Scheme, as, in a genuine and more proper distinction of them, they always were in every true Church of Christ since the Apostles' times.

He seems also fairly to derive all power and authority in the Church from the true fountain of it, even our blessed Lord himself, and his inspired Apostles commissioned and empowered by him to plant and govern Churches. But the manner of their conveying this power to others either for assistance or succession to themselves in their great charge (which is a main part of this Enquiry) I fear will not appear so plain.

distinctly speak in the ensuing Tract, as they naturally resolve themselves into these Three Particulars :

- I. The Peculiar Acts of the Clergy.
- II. The Peculiar Acts of the Laity.
- III. The Joint Acts of them both.

By the Resolution of which three Questions, some Discovery will be made of the Constitution and Discipline of the Primitive Church, and of their Practice with respect to many Points unhappily controverted amongst us.

§. 4. I begin with the first of these, What were the Peculiar Acts of the Clergy ? Now here must be consider'd the Functions of every particular Order and Degree of the Clergy, which we may say to be three, *viz.* Bishops, Priests and Deacons, whose Employments we shall severally handle ; as also several other Points, which under those Heads shall offer themselves unto us. I shall begin first with the Bishop ; but for the better understanding both of him and the rest, it will be necessary, first of all, to consider the Condition of the whole World, as it was before the Preaching of the Gospel, in a state of Paganism and Darkness, having their Understandings clouded with Ignorance and Error, alienated from God, and the true Worship of him, applauding their own brutish Inventions, and adoring as God whatever their corrupted Reason and silly Fancies proposed to them as Objects of Adoration and Homage. Into this miserable state all Mankind, except the *Jews*, had wilfully cast themselves ; and had not Christ the Sun of Righteousness enlightened them, they would have continued in that lost and blind condition to this very day : But our Saviour having on his Cross Triumph'd over Principalities and Powers, and perfectly conquered the Devil, who before had rul'd effectually in



the Heathen World ; and being ascended into Heaven, and sat down at the Right Hand of the Father, on the day of Pentecost he sent down the Holy Ghost on his Apostles and Disciples, who were then assembled at *Jerusalem*, enduing them thereby with the Gift of Tongues, and working Miracles, and both commissionating and fitting them for the Propagation of his Church and Kingdom, who having received this Power and Authority from on high, went forth Preaching the Gospel, First, to the *Jews*, and then to the *Gentiles*, declaring those glad Tidings to all Kingdoms and Provinces ; so that as the Apostle *Paul* said, *Rom. 10. 18.* *Their sound went into all the Earth, and their words unto the ends of the World* ; every one taking a particular part of the World for his proper Province, to make known the joyful News of Life and Salvation through Christ therein. Thus St. *Andrew* principally preached the Gospel in *Scythia*, St. *Bartholomew* in *India*, St. *Matthew* in *Parthia*, St. *John* in the *Lesser Asia*, and all the rest of the Apostles had their particular Provinces allotted them, wherein they went forth preaching the Gospel ; and as they came to any City, Town or Village, they published to the Inhabitants thereof the blessed news of Life and Immortality through Jesus Christ, constituting the first Converts of every place through which they passed, Bishops and Deacons of those Churches which they there

<sup>2</sup> Καθίσταντος τὰς ἀπαρχὰς αὐτῶν  
εἰς ἐπισκόπους καὶ διαχόρους. *Epist.*  
1. *ad Corinth.* p. 54.

<sup>3</sup> So saith *Clemens Romanus*, <sup>4</sup> *The Apostles went forth preaching in City and Country, appointing*

<sup>5</sup> Our Author quotes two authorities from Antiquity, to show the Apostles' method of constituting Pastors and Governours in the Churches which they gathered. The first is from *Clemens Romanus*, where that Father says, *The Apostles went forth preaching in City and Country* (as our Enquirer is pleased to

*the First Fruits of their Ministry for Bishops and Deacons;* generally leaving those Bishops and Deacons to govern and enlarge those particular Churches over which they had placed them, whilst they themselves passed forwards, planted other Churches, and placed Governors over them. Thus saith *Tertullian* <sup>3</sup> *Clemens was ordained Bishop of Rome by St. Peter, and Polycarp Bishop of Smirna by St. John.*

<sup>3</sup> Smirnaeorum Ecclesia habens Polycarpum ab Johanne conlocatum, Romanorum Clementem à Petro ordinatum. *De præscri. advers. Hæret.* p. 80.

translate and place the words) but in <sup>3</sup> *Countries and Cities,* (as it is in *Clemens* himself), *appointing the first fruits of their Ministry for Bishops and Deacons.* Thus far *Clemens* : to

<sup>3</sup> Κατὰ χώρας οὖν καὶ πόλεις κηρύσσοντες καθ'στανταν τὰς ἀπαρχὰς αὐτῶν—εἰς Ἐπισκόπους καὶ Διακόνους, &c. *Clem. Rom. Ep. 1. ad Cor.* p. 54.

which our Enquirer adds, that *the Apostles generally left those Bishops and Deacons to govern those particular Churches over which they had placed them, while they themselves passed forward, &c.* Now, if he means that they left them always as supreme Church-Governours there, I conceive that the Holy Scriptures will be clearly against him. For the supremacy of power over all the Apostolical Churches, for the greatest part of the Apostles' lives, was reserved in their own hands. It was by this that St. Paul so justly imputed to himself the *care of all the Churches*, 1 Cor. xi. 28; and his commands, censures, and precepts (so visible in most of his Epistles to them) evidently prove the same. Whatever assistants, therefore, these Bishops and Deacons were to the Apostles by their Ministry and Regulation of the Churches under them, they could not have been Ecclesiastical officers invested with a plenitude of Church-power. I only note this here for the sake of the Enquirer's second authority immediately quoted from *Tertullian*, to the same intent with this : For *thus* (says he) *Tertullian* saith, *Clemens was ordained Bishop of Rome by St. Peter, and Polycarp Bishop of Smirna by St. John.* See Appendix No. 3.

§. 5. <sup>h</sup> Whether in the Apostolick and Primitive Days,

<sup>h</sup> In the fourth Chapter, p. 65 of the Enquiry, our Author asserts that *the first who expressed these Church-Officers by the distinct terms of Bishops and Presbyters* was Ignatius, who lived in the beginning of the Second Century. From hence I beg to observe these three things :

1st. That as often as we meet with the word Bishop or Presbyter in the Holy Scriptures, we cannot, by the term itself, determine which of the two, according to the more *distinct* language of the ages immediately following, we must necessarily understand by it ; unless the context, or some peculiar circumstance besides, more clearly explain it to us.

2dly. That the same latitude of signification must, for the same reason, be allowed to *Clemens Romanus's* Bishops and Presbyters too, because that holy <sup>4</sup> Bishop suffered martyrdom before *Ignatius's* Epistles were written ; wherein the different and determinate sense of those words (as our learned Enquirer affirms) was first established

in the Church. And therefore,

<sup>5</sup> See page 13.

3dly. It is but just to allow *Tertullian* in his <sup>5</sup> quotation, and all the Fathers after him, to mean by *their Bishops* such as the whole Church did then understand, when the preeminence of that name above the name of Presbyters was fully settled ; and to interpret St. *Clemens's* Bishops by that warrantable latitude of signification, which is acknowledged to have been in general use in his time.

That many Bishops (indifferently called Presbyters in the Holy Scriptures and first age of the Church) were placed by the Apostles in particular Churches, is agreed, I think, by all ; but that more Presbyters than one of that determinate order or degree, which were peculiarly called Bishops afterwards, (such as *Clemens* placed by *St. Peter at Rome*, or *Polycarp* by *St. John at Smyrna*)

there were more Bishops than one in a Church, at first sight seems difficult to resolve : That the Holy Scriptures and <sup>4</sup> *Clemens Romanus* mention many in one Church, <sup>4 Υποτασσόμενοι τοῖς ἡγουμένοις ὑμῖν. Epist. 1 ad. Cor. p. 2.</sup> is certain : And on the other hand it is as certain, that *Ignatius, Tertullian, Cyprian*, and the following Fathers affirm, that there was and ought to be but one in a Church. These Contradictions may at the first view seem Inextricable ; but I hope the following Account will reconcile all these seeming Difficulties, and withal afford us a fair and easy Conception of the difference between the Antient Bishops and Presbyters.

<sup>1</sup> I shall then lay down as sure, that there was but one

were ever ordained or settled by an Apostle in any particular Church of theirs,—this, I think, I may freely say is no where to be read in all primitive Antiquity : and our Author's own quotation from *Tertullian* is one very pregnant instance of the thing.

<sup>1</sup> Our Author fixes upon this for a sure truth, that there was but one *Supreme Bishop* in a place. This seems a very orthodox and primitive assertion ; but why such a difference in the expression itself from the common language of the holy Fathers within his own three centuries ? They speak often enough of but one Bishop in a Church ; but of one *Supreme Bishop* in a Church, I believe, no where. Nay his own quotations in this very place bear witness that St. Cyprian and Cornelius did not so express themselves (see margin p. 16). And the former of these, in the name of eighty-seven African Bishops then in Council with him, declared that

<sup>6</sup> none of them were Bishops over Bishops. What are we to understand then by this *supreme Bishop*, who is to be but a Bishop of a single Church too ? The answer is plain :

The common language of the primitive Fathers would not suit

<sup>6</sup> Neque enim quisquam nostrum Episcopum se Episcoporum constituit. Consil. Carthag. in præfat. apud Cypr. p. 229. Edit. Oxon.

Supreme Bishop in a place, that was the *οἰκιστής*, The Bishop, by way of Eminency and Propriety. The proper Pastor and Minister of his Parish, to whose Care and Trust the Souls of that Church or Parish, over which he presided, were principally and more immediately committed.

<sup>5</sup> *Unus in Ecclesiā ad tempus Sacerdos, Epist. 55. § 6. p. 138.*

<sup>6</sup> Οὐκ ἡπίστατο ἡνα ἐπίσκοπον δεῖν εἶναι ἐν καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ.  
*Ad Fabium. Antioch apud Euseb. lib. 6. c. 43. p. 244.*

So saith *Cyprian*: *There is but one Bishop in a Church at a time.* And so *Cornelius* Objects to *Novatian*, *Thut he did not remember, <sup>6</sup> that there ought to be but one Bishop in a Church.* And throughout the whole Epistles of *Ignatius*,

and the generality of Writers succeeding him, we find but one single Bishop in a Church, whose Quotations to which purpose would be fruitless to recite here, since the constant Practice of the Universal Church confirms it, and a great part of the following Discourse will clearly illustrate it.

<sup>k</sup> Only it may not be impertinent to remark this by

with the following scheme of this Enquiry. Our learned Author, who discerns that every Presbyter who ministered in any Church had received Episcopal authority by Apostolical Institution or Succession, as properly and truly as any Bishop in the Catholic Church, stood greatly in need of an epithet of a superlative degree to distinguish him from any other Ecclesiastical officer within the Church. But when the primitive Fathers named a Bishop of a Church, they needed no such distinguishing epithet: but concluded that the original order he was of, did that of course for them.

<sup>k</sup> Our Author had just said that there was but one *supreme* Bishop in a Church: and yet he forthwith observes to us, that *by the Διαδοχαί, or succession of Bishops, ordained by the Apostles, the Orthodox were wont to prove the succession of their Faith, and*

the way, that by the διαδοχαι, or succession of Bishops, from those Bishops who were Ordained by the Apostles, the Orthodox were wont to prove the Succession of their Faith, and the Novelty of that of the Hereticks, <sup>7</sup> Let them demonstrate the Original of their Churches, as Tertullian challenges the Marcionites and other Hereticks; Let them turn over the Orders of their Bishops, and see whether they have had a Succession of Bishops from any one who was Constituted by the Apostles or Apostolick Men: Thus the truly Apostolick Churches have, as the Church of Smirna has Polycarp there placed by

<sup>7</sup> Edant origines ecclesiarum suarum, evolant ordinem Episcoporum suorum, ita per successiones ab initio decurrentem, ut primus ille episcopus aliquem ex Apostolis vel Apostolicis viris qui, tamen cum Apostolis perseveraverit, habuerit auctorem et antecessorem. Hoc enim modo Ecclesiae Apostolicae census suos deferunt, sicut Smirnaeorum Ecclesia habens Polycarpum ab Johanne conlocatum refert, sicut Romanorum Clementem à Petro ordi-

*the novelty of that of Hereticks:* and quotes two authorities from *Irenæus* and *Tertullian.* <sup>7</sup> See Margin pp. 17 and 18.

Here was an early occasion given for his singular distinction (if he could have warranted it) of a *supreme Bishop*, amongst many other Apostolical Bishops in the same Church together. For without such a distinction, this great Catholic test to try the true faith by, would have proved no *test* at all: for if more Bishops than one, of equal original Order and Apostolical Institution, were ordinarily in the same particular Church together, (as our learned Author affirms) then to prove the Orthodoxy of a Church's Faith, by the succession of one particular Apostolic Bishop, had no consequence in it at all: because some other of those Apostolically ordained Bishops might possibly be at the head of an heretical Congregation; and then the original Order and Succession of *these* might have been as warrantable an argument for *them*, as the like could be for the other; and by that means Heresy and the true Faith would have stood upon an equal footing with one another.

natum proinde utique exhibent, quos ab Apostolis in Episcopatum constitutos, Apostolici seminis traduces habeant. *De præscript. advers. Hæret.* p. 78.

*Apostles, and who have been their Successors to this very day.*  
<sup>8</sup> Eam traditionem quæ est ab Apostolis, quæ per Successiones Presbyterorum in ecclesiis custoditur, provocamus eos. *Lib. 3. c. 2. p. 170.*

<sup>9</sup> *Lib. 3. c. 3. p. 170, 171.*

Father gives us a Catalogue of the Bishops of *Rome* till his days, by whom the true Faith was successively transmitted down from the Apostles; in which Catalogue we find but one Bishop at a time, and as he died, so another single Person succeeded him in the Charge of that Flock or Parish.

So that this Consideration evidences also, that there was but one Bishop strictly so called, in a Church at a

<sup>1</sup> A pastore oves, et filios à parente separare. *Cypr. Epist. 38. §. 1. p. 90.*

*St. John, and the Church of Rome Clement, ordained by Peter; and other Churches can tell, who were ordained Bishops over them by the Apostles, and who have been their Successors to this very day.*  
*So also says Irenæus, <sup>8</sup> We challenge the Hereticks to that Tradition, which was handed down from the Apostles by the Succession of Bishops.*

And in the <sup>9</sup> next Chapter of the same Book, the said

Father gives us a Catalogue of the Bishops of *Rome* till his days, by whom the true Faith was successively transmitted down from the Apostles; in which Catalogue we find but one Bishop at a time, and as he died, so another single Person succeeded him in the Charge of that Flock or Parish.

So that this Consideration evidences also, that there was but one Bishop strictly so called, in a Church at a time, who was related to his Flock, <sup>1</sup> as a Pastor to his Sheep, and a Parent to his Children. <sup>1</sup> The Titles of this

<sup>1</sup> *The Titles (says he) of this supreme Church-Officer are most of them reckoned up in one place by Cyprian, which are Bishop, Pastor, President, Governour, Superintendent (so he translates Antistes) and Priest, &c.*

Now would not the generality of Readers be apt to think that these are the appropriated titles of his *supreme Church-Officer*? and that whenever they met with them in St. Cyprian's writings, or any other of such primitive antiquity, they must always understand that *supreme Church-Officer* by them? else why so carefully noted here? But, it is quite the contrary; for in his

Supreme Church-Officer are most of them reckoned up in one place by *Cyprian*, which are <sup>2</sup> *Bishop*, *Pastor*, *President*, *Governour*, *Superintendent* and *Priest*. And this is he, which in the *Revelations* is called <sup>3</sup> *the Angel of his Church*, as *Origen* thinks, which Appellations denote both his Authority and Office.

<sup>2</sup> *Episcopus, Praepositus, Pastor, Gubernator, Antistes, Sacerdos. Epist. 69. §. 5. p. 208.*

<sup>3</sup> Προεστῶτας τίνας τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἀγγέλους λέγεσθαι παρὰ τῷ Ἰωάννῃ ἐν τῇ Αποκαλύψει. *De Oratione*, § 35. p. 34.

his Power and Duty, of both which we shall somewhat treat, after we have discoursed of the Circuit and Extent of his Jurisdiction and Superintendency, which shall be the Contents of the following Chapter.

4th Chap. § 3. Obs. 10, the Enquirer labours to prove that most of all these supreme titles were equally given, and did of right belong, to any Presbyter whatever in the Christian Church. All the Presbyters in any Church are; in that case, to be owned for Primitive Bishops, without any farther authority or ordination than they had before, principally because the same name is familiarly used by the ancients to express them both by: so that having first possessed his Readers, that these fore-mentioned titles are peculiarly Bishop's titles, and then shewing, that many of them are often attributed to Presbyters, he seems to think the inference will readily be admitted, that they are unquestionably Bishops too. But by this argument his Presbyters must every one of them be supreme Bishops. For the latter are first supposed to preside over their respective Churches or Congregations; and if the several titles of his supreme Church-Officer are common to all Presbyters, then they likewise must be chief Bishops, so far as such titles can make them Bishops at all.

## CHAPTER II.

§. 1. *As but one Bishop to a Church, so but one Church to a Bishop.* *The Bishop's Cure never called a Diocess, but usually a Parish, no larger than our Parishes.* §. 2. *Demonstrated by several Arguments.* §. 3. *A survey of the Extent of several Bishopricks, as they were in Ignatius's Days, as of Smirna.* §. 4. Ephesus. §. 5. Magnesia. §. 6. Philadelphia. §. 7. Trallium. §. 8. *The Bigness of the Diocess of Antioch.* §. 9. *Of Rome.* §. 10. *Of Carthage.* §. 11. *A Reflection on the Diocess of Alexandria.* §. 12. *Bishops in Villages.* §. 13. *All the Christians of a Diocess met together in one place every Sunday to serve God.*

§. 1. <sup>m</sup> HAVING in the former Chapter shewn that there was but one Bishop to a Church, we shall in this

<sup>m</sup> The great point to be cleared up in the 2nd Chapter is this, that *as there was but one Bishop to a Church, so there was but one Church to a Bishop.* By a *Bishop's Church*, we know, our Author means a single Congregation; and he would have us assured that the Primitive Fathers meant so too. His observation is this: That the ancient Dioceses are never said to contain *Churches* in the plural, but only a *Church* in the singular. Now, not

<sup>1</sup> Of Alexandria, see Euseb. l. 5. c. 9. Of Emesa and Gaza, see Euseb. l. 8. c. 13.

to mention that the observation is untrue, (for <sup>1</sup> *Eusebius* names the Churches of *Alexandria, Gaza, Emesa, &c.*, in the plural

number, and their Bishops in the singular,) I would remark that what these Dioceses contained in them (whether one or more of

<sup>2</sup> See his quotations in page 21 of the Enquiry.

such Churches as he means) his <sup>2</sup> quotations say not. They shew indeed, that a Bishop's

Church was usually expressed and named at that time in the singular; which so far from denying, we are ready also to admit, that they were just so expressed and named too in after ages of

Evidence, that there was but one Church to a Bishop, which will appear from this single Consideration, *viz.* That the ancient Diocesses are never said to contain Churches, in the Plural, but only a Church in the Singular. So they say, <sup>1</sup> *the Church of the Corinthians*, <sup>2</sup> *the Church of Smirna*, <sup>3</sup> *the Church in Magnesia*, <sup>4</sup> *the Church in Philadelphia*, <sup>5</sup> *the Church in Antioch*, and so of any other place whatsoever, the Church *of*, or *in* such a place.

<sup>1</sup> Τὴν Κορινθίων ἐκκλησίαν. *Clem. Rom. Epist.*, 1. p. 62.

<sup>2</sup> Smirnis Ecclesia. *Irenaeus lib.* 3. c. 3. p. 171.

<sup>3</sup> Τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὴν οὖσαν ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ. *Ignat. Epist.* 4. p. 30.

<sup>4</sup> Ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ οὖσῃ ἐν Φιλαδελφίᾳ. *Idem Epist.* 5. p. 38.

<sup>5</sup> Τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὴν ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ. *Idem Ibidem*, p. 45.

the Church, as well as in the first and earliest of them. In the fourth Century, under *Constantine* the Great, the celebrated Diocese of *Antioch* is called no more than <sup>3</sup> *the single Church of Antioch*.

<sup>4</sup> *Eusebius* calls the Mother Diocese of *Jerusalem* by the same name in the same Century, and about the same time. In later

ages, the Council of *Carthage* under *Theodosius* and *Honorius*, in the fifth Century, calls the extensive Diocese of *St. Augustine*, <sup>5</sup> *the Church of Hippo* only, in the singular number: and to come nearer home, the Venerable

<sup>6</sup> *Bede*, in his Church History of our native country, ordinarily calls both larger or smaller Dioceses in the land (whether of *Canterbury*, *York*, *Rochester*, or the like) by this Primitive name of the single Church of

each of those places; and that there were more than one Congregation of Believers in each or any of these fore-mentioned Churches, will not, I believe, be doubted.

<sup>3</sup> Τῆς κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιοχείαν ἐκκλησίας. *Euseb. in vit. Constant.* 1. 3. c. 61.

<sup>4</sup> Τῷ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῷ ἐν Ἱεροσόλυμοις Ἐπισκόπῳ. *Ibid. cap.* 29.

<sup>5</sup> Ἀγρυπτῖνος Ἐπισκόπος τῆς ἐκκλησίας Ἰωαννης.

<sup>6</sup> *Dorovernensis Ecclesia Antistes*. *Bede's Eccle. Hist.* 1. 2. c. 18. *Tobias Hroffensis Eccles. Præsul*, *Wilfridus in Eboracensi Ecclesia*. *Ibid* 1. 5. c. 24.

This was the common Name whereby a Bishop's Cure was denominated, The Bishop himself being usually called, The Bishop of this or that Church, as *Tertullian* saith,  
 6 Polycarpus in Smirnis ecclesia constitutus episcopus. *Iren.* l. *Bishop of the Church of*  
 3. c. 3. p. 171. *That Polycarp was ordained*  
*Smirna.*

As for the Word *Diocess*, by which the Bishop's Flock is now usually express'd, I do not remember that ever I found it used in this Sense by any of the Ancients : <sup>a</sup> But

<sup>a</sup> *The Ancients* (says our Enquirer) *frequently denominated their Bishop's Cure by the Greek word Παξοικία.* He further tells us that our present sense of the word is the very same that the ancient Christians took it in ; and lays a great stress upon the genuine signification of the word itself. Now whatever gave occasion for the use of this primitive word, it certainly could have had no respect to any language *then* or *now* in use amongst us of this nation ; and therefore to suggest the modern affinity of the words, by way of argument in the case, is to amuse only, where we undertake to instruct.

The best way to learn the idiom or propriety of a primitive Ecclesiastical word is by one or all of these three ways : Either,

1<sup>st</sup>, By the sense which it bears in the Holy Scriptures, if we find it there ; Or,

2<sup>dly</sup>, By the continued use of it in the Christian Church for some time afterwards : Or,

3<sup>dly</sup>, By the common signification of it in the original language from whence it is taken.

By these three tests let us try to ascertain the meaning of the word *παξοικία*.

In Holy Scripture we find it used by *St. Luke* to denote a temporary residence of a stranger in a place remote from home. For in the question of *Cleopas* to our blessed Lord after his Re-

<sup>7</sup> Luke xxiv. 18.

surrection, <sup>7</sup> “Art thou only a

stranger in Jerusalem,” &c. the

original words are Σὺ μόνος παξοικεῖς εν Ἰερουσαλήμ ; where if

*παξοικεῖς* be rendered with any analogy to the member of a

there is another Word, still retained by us, by which they frequently denominated the Bishop's Cure, and that is

Parish, or such-like society in the city, the holy Penman's sense would be singular and unintelligible indeed.

Again *St. Paul* uses the word in the very same sense and signification afterwards, *Eph.* ii. 19, *You are no longer strangers and foreigners*, says he, calling his foreigners there by the name of *ωδησιοι*, which, if we should take it in our learned Enquirer's sense, must be rendered *very near neighbours*, at least, or *fellow members of one and the same society together*; which directly inverts the Apostle's meaning.

2dly. We often meet with the word *ωδησια* both in the *Greek* and *Latin* Writers for several ages afterwards, denoting the same thing with a Diocese of many Parishes and Congregations in it: which farther proves that the Ecclesiastical sense of the word had not been so limited, till particular places determinately made it so.

In the Code of the *African* Church, published both in *Greek* and *Latin* by *Justellus*, we meet with *Diæcessis* in one language, rendered by *ωδησια* in the other. Thus it is in the Title of the 8 56th Canon, and again and again in the body of the Canon itself. So *St. Jerome* translating an Epistle of *St. Epiphanius* <sup>9</sup> to *John Bishop of Jerusalem*, expresses both their large Dioceses by the word *Parochia* only. *St. Augustine*, in his Epistle to Pope *Cælestine*, tells him that the Town of *Fussula* was 40 miles distant from *Hippo*, yet both the place itself, and the Country round about it, did before his time, belong to the Parochia of his Church of *Hippo*.

<sup>8</sup> Vide Christ. *Justell.* Can. *Ecclesiae Africanae*, in *Can. 56.* Edit. Paris, 1614.

<sup>9</sup> Vide *Epiphan.* *Ep. ad Johan.* *Hierosol.* <sup>10</sup> *inter opera Hieron.* Vol. 2. Tom. 3. Fol. 71. Edit. *Erasm.* *Basil.* Item in *Epiphanius.* Tom. 2. pag. 312. Edit. *Petav.* *Colon.* 1682.

<sup>1</sup> Vide *August.* *opera a Theolog.* *Lovan.* Edit. *Colon.* *Agrip.* 1616. Tom. 2. p. 325. *Ep. 261.* *Fussula* simul contigua sibi regione ad *Paræciam Hippo* <sup>11</sup> *ensis Ecclesiae* pertinebat.—*Et infra*, ab *Hippone* millibus quadraginta *sejungitur*.

*Parish*: So in the Synodical Epistle of *Irenæus* to Pope <sup>1</sup> *Victor*, the Bishopricks of *Asia* are twice called <sup>1</sup> *Parishes*. And in *Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History* the Word is so applied in several

<sup>2</sup> *Provincia Australium Saxonum ad civitates Ventanæ parochiam* pertinebat, *Bede Eccle. Hist. l. 5. c. 19.*

*Saxons* belonged to it.

3dly. Our learned Author assures us that the very signification of the word *παροικία* makes all clear: for it *signifies*, (says he,) *a dwelling one by another, as neighbours do, or an habitation in one and the same place*. But here I must beg leave to say, that the word is taken in a very different sense by writers of unquestionable authority, and is sufficiently warranted by Glossaries and

<sup>3</sup> *Suicer in vocib. παροικέων et παροικίαν*. *Παροικέων* significat *Advena, peregrinus sum, et opponitur τῷ κατοικεῖν, quod, juxta veteres Glossas, Habito, incolo.*

diately adds that this very word to *κατοικεῖν*, which, <sup>4</sup> according to *dwell or have an habitation*

<sup>4</sup> *Philo Judæus de Sacrif. Abel et Cain. Ο τοῖς ἐγκυκλίοις μάνοις ἐτανεχων παροικεῖ σοφεῖ, οὐ κατοικεῖ.*

<sup>5</sup> *Basil. m. in Ps. 14. t. l. p. 149. Ἡ παροικία ἐστὶ διαγωγὴ πρόσωπος.*

<sup>6</sup> *Theodoret. in Ps. 119. p. 911.*

<sup>7</sup> *Παροικίαν καλει, τὴν ἐν τῇ ἀλλοτριᾳ διαγωγὴν.*

is here, often signifies the same as (*juxta*) with the *Latins*, that

And, to come home to ourselves, the Venerable *Bede* <sup>2</sup> calls the Diocese of *Winchester*, by the same name, even when the whole province of the *South*

Critics on the *Greek Language* to be so. <sup>3</sup> *Suicer* in his first observations on the word *παροικέων*, renders it by the *Latin, Advena or Peregrinus sum*, that is, *I am a stranger or foreigner in any place*. And he immediately adds that this very word is put in direct opposition to ancient *Glosses*, signifies in any place. And what this judicious *Glossary* thus affirms, he makes good by the authorities of <sup>4</sup> *Philo Judæus*, <sup>5</sup> *St. Basil the Great*, <sup>6</sup> *Theodoret*, and others.

Perhaps it may be alleged that the *Greek Preposition παρ*, when joined in composition with another word, as it

hundred Places. It is usual there to read of the Bishops of the <sup>2</sup> Parish of Alexandria, of the <sup>3</sup> Parish of Ephesus, of the <sup>4</sup> Parish of Corinth, of the Parish of <sup>5</sup> Athens, of the <sup>6</sup> Parish of Carthage ; and so of the Bishops of the Parishes of several other Churches ; by that Term denoting the very same, that

we now call a Parish, *viz.* a competent number of Christians dwelling near together, having one Bishop, Pastor, or Minister set over them, with whom they all met at one time to worship and serve God. This may be evinc'd from the intent of the Word it self, which signifies a Dwelling one by another, as Neighbours do ; or an Habitation in one and the same place, as the Church of *Smirna* writ to the Church <sup>1</sup> that <sup>1</sup> *Apud. Euseb. lib. 4. c. 15. p. 129.* Parished in Philomelium, τῇ <sup>1</sup> 129.

ταξοικούσῃ ἐν Φιλομήλῳ. And

the Epistle of *Clemens Romanus* is to the Church of God <sup>2</sup> Parishing at Corinth, ταξοι- <sup>2</sup> *Epist. 1. ad Cor. p. 1.*

is, *nigh or near to any place.* But let <sup>7</sup> *Devarius* (that accurate Critic on the Particles of the Greek tongue) be heard in this case ; and he will teach us, that we cannot, with any authority, attribute such a determinate sense to it. His note upon it is this ; ἡ ταξὰ non solum τὸ ἔγγὺς, sed etiam τὸ τέργα καὶ ἔξω significat ; that is, the Preposition ταξὰ not only signifies *nigh, or near to*, but also *beyond, or from abroad, and without*, according to the different phrases or authors in which it may occur. This sufficiently justifies the above mentioned ancient writer's using it (even in the word before us) in direct opposition to that of dwelling *nigh one another in one and the same place.*

<sup>7</sup> Vide Matth. Devarii, lib. de Græc. Ænig. particul. Edit. du Gard. A.D. 1657. Pag. 206.

κούστη Κόρηνθον, that is, dwelling or living in *Philomelium*, and Corinth; so that a Parish is the same with a Particular Church, or a single Congregation; which is yet more evident from a passage in the Dissertations of *Apollonius* against *Alexander* a *Cataphrygian* Heretick, wherein it is said, That

<sup>3</sup> Ἡ Ἰδία παροικία αὐτὸν οὐεν τῷ οὐκ εἶεξατο. *Apud Eus. lib. 5. c. 18. p. 185.* because that Heretick had been a Robber, therefore

<sup>3</sup> *that Parish to which he belonged would not receive him,* that is, that particular Church or Congregation to which he appertained, excluded him from Communion because of his Depredations and Robberies; so that a Parish and a Particular Church are Synonymous Terms, signifying one and the same thing; and consequently a Bishop having but one Parish under his Jurisdiction, could extend his Government no farther than one single Congregation; because a single Congregation and a Parish were all one, of the same Bulk and Magnitude.

§. 2. ° But that the Bishops Diocess exceeded not the Bounds of a modern Parish, and was the same, as in

° Our Author asserts, *that a Bishop's Diocese and a modern Parish were the same, as in name, so in thing.*

I wish he had begun his proof of this, where the Church itself began, and had thought *Jerusalem*, the original platform of Christian Churches, as worthy of his notice as any of the rest, and Scripture-evidence as fit to be considered, as other authorities that he is pleased to use. But he has cautiously declined both the one and the other. Is it so obvious to common sense, as not to deserve a little notice, how the many thousands from time to time converted in

<sup>8</sup> See *Acts i. 15 ; ii. 41 ; 47 ; iv. 4, v. 14 ; vi. 7.* *Jerusalem* alone, and the daily increase of them,<sup>8</sup> should com-

modiously, or indeed possibly worship God in one and the same place; since they had neither a temple nor any other building large enough to hold such a numerous assembly? And yet *St. James*, the Bishop of this

Name, so also in Thing, will appear from these following Observations, as,

Church, in a few years after, calls these thousands of converted Jews by the multiplied number

of myriads of them.<sup>9</sup> The inspired penmen, who relate all this, had little reason to amuse

<sup>9</sup> Θεωρεῖς, ἀδελφὲ, πόσαι Μυριάδες εἰσὶν Ἰουδαῖων τῶν πεπιστευκότων. Acts xxi. 20.

posterity, with the number, method, or nature of the Churches, Oratories, or Meeting-houses, (call them what we please,) wherein those multitudes of Converts held assemblies for the offices and mysteries of their new religion, (though *their breaking bread from house to house*, the Churches mentioned in *private and particular houses* there, are no imperfect intimations of it,) but the matter of fact which they relate, commands our faith.

Tertullian says of every place in general, that numbers<sup>1</sup> of Christians, in his early age, were well nigh the greater part of every city; for so he

frankly tells the persecuting *Scapula*. And again, to all the Roman Magistrates, in his *Apology*, he glories in the multitudes of his profession, and gives an account utterly incomprehensible, if the largest City in the Empire had no more than a single Congregation in it: <sup>2</sup> *We are of yesterday, (says he) yet every place is filled with us; your Cities, the Islands, the Forts, your Corporations, the Councils, the Armies, the Tribes and Companies; yea the Palace, Senate and Courts of Justice; your Temples only have we left you free. Should we go off and separate from you, you would stand amazed at your own desolation, be affrighted at the stop*

<sup>1</sup> Tanta hominum multitudo, pars pene major cuiusque civitatis. Tertul. ad Scap. c. 2. p. 86.

<sup>2</sup> Hesterni sumus, et vestra omnia implevimus; urbes, insulas, castella, municipia, conciliabula, castra ipsa, tribus, decurias, palatium, senatum, forum; sola vobis reliquimus tempa. Tertul. *Apol.* p. 33. cap. 37. Si tanta vis hominum in aliquem orbis remotissimum abrupsimmo a vobis—proculdubio expavissetis ad solitudinem vestram, ad silentium rerum, et stuporem

1. All the People of a Diocess did every Sunday meet all together in one place to celebrate Divine Service,

quendam quasi mortui orbis. *and deadness of affairs amongst you, &c.*

*Eusebius*, when he speaks in general of primitive Christian Churches in every City and Country, about the close of the Apostolic age, uses such terms to express the multitudes and number of them, as rather <sup>3</sup> *Καὶ δῆτα ἀνὰ πάσας πόλεις τε καὶ κώμας, πληθυσμῶν ἀλλων δίκην, μυζέανδροι καὶ παμπληθεῖς ἀθρέως ἐκκλησίαι συνεστήκεσσαν.* Euseb. Hist. Eccl. 1. 2. c. 3.

Again, speaking of the peaceful times that Christians enjoyed, after the *Valerian* persecution ended, and before the *Dioclesian* began,

<sup>4</sup> *Πῶς δ' ἄγ τις διαγράψει τὰς μυσιάνδρους ἔκεινας ἐπισυναγωγάς; καὶ τὰ πλήθη των κατα τάσαν τόλιν ἀθροισμάτων, τὰς τε ἐπισήμους ἐν τοῖς προσευκτηρίοις συνδρομᾶς; ἢν δὲ ἔνεκα μηδαμῶς ἔτι τοῖς παλαιοῖς δικοδομήμασι ἀρκούμενοι, ἔνειλας εἰς τλάτος ανὰ τάσας τὰς τόλεις ἐκ Ἰημελίων ἀνίστων Ἐκκλησίας.* Euseb. Hist. Eccl. 1. 8. c. 1.

<sup>5</sup> *Optat. de Schism. Donat. 1. 2. p. 39.*

the Christian Churches, (which was but five years after the third Century at the most,) there were above forty *Basilicæ*, that is, public places for Christian worship, in the single City of *Rome*. See Appendix, No. 4.

than mere parochial assemblies. His comparison of them is this, that *they were like heaped grain upon a barn-floor.*

which was the last forty years of the third Century, he says; *Who can describe the innumerable increase and concourse of them? the number of assemblies in each City? and the extraordinary meetings in their houses of prayer?* So that not content with the buildings they had of old, they founded new and larger Churches throughout every City. Which exactly agrees with what *Optatus* <sup>5</sup> (the Bishop of *Milevis*) tells us, that when *Dioclesian* destroyed

<sup>¶</sup> Thus saith *Justin Martyr*,

<sup>1</sup> *On Sunday all Assemble together in one Place, where the Bishop preaches and prays; for* <sup>4</sup> *as Ignatius writes,*  
<sup>2</sup> *Where the Bishop is, there*

<sup>1</sup> Πάντων ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνέλευσις γίνεται. *Apol.* 2. p. 98.

<sup>2</sup> "Οπου ἂν φανῇ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ἐκεῖ τὸ ταλῆθος ἔστω. *Epist. ad Smirn.* p. 6.

<sup>¶</sup> <sup>6</sup> Justin's words are these: On Sunday all **THROUGHOUT CITIES OR COUNTRIES** meet together; words which undeniably shew it to be a general account of Christian practice in all places of the Christian world. The [συνέλευσις γίνεται ἐπὶ αὐτὸ τῷ,] which properly signifies *assembling together*, though it is expressed in the singular number, yet being spoken with reference to a complex body, as it evidently is here in relation to Cities and Countries at large, severally refers to each distinct member and part, whereof that complex body consists; and plainly denotes that every part, as well one as the other, held an assembly on that day; or else the absurdity would follow, that Cities and Countries, indefinitely taken, wherever there were any Christians in them, met all together every Sunday, and made but one Congregation.

<sup>4</sup> Our Enquirer's next appeal is to several passages in the Epistles of *St. Ignatius*; and he seems to infer from them that the Bishop must have been in all the ministrations of the Church, and that none could rightly partake of any of them, but by his personal ministry alone. But are we sure that the holy martyr himself meant so too? Nothing is plainer, I think, than that he did not; else how could he say immediately before his charge to the Church of *Smyrna*, *to do nothing without the Bishop*; <sup>7</sup> *let that Eucharist be counted valid with you, which is celebrated by your Bishop, or by such an one as he shall authorize to do it?* And immediately after, as soon as he had told them that without the Bishop it was not lawful to bap-

<sup>7</sup> Εκείνη βεβαία Ευχαριστία ἡγείσθω, ἢ ὑπὸ τον ἐπίσκοπον ούσα, ἢ ἡ ἀν αὐτὸς επιτεξίψη. *Ad Smyrn.* p. 6.

<sup>5</sup> Ἀναγκαῖον οὖν ἐστιν ἀγεν τοῦ  
ἰπισκόπου μηδὲν πράσσειν ἵμᾶς.  
Epist. ad Tralles. p. 48.

<sup>5</sup> there is a necessity that we  
do nothing without the Bi-

tize, or celebrate their Love-feast, (which implies communion too,) he adds, as it were by

<sup>8</sup> Ἀλλ' ὁ ἀν ἐκεῖνος δοκιμάζῃ, τοῦτο  
καὶ τῷ Θεῷ εὐάρεστον. Ad Smyrn.  
p. 6.

way of exception: <sup>8</sup> But what  
he (that is the Bishop) approves,  
that is acceptable unto God.

It seems then that the Bishop's permission and approbation were, in the holy Martyr's sense, as good as his very act and deed. And no less is plainly to be seen in that great argument, by which he enjoins this dutiful regard to the Bishop in his charge to the

<sup>9</sup> Οὐτε δι εἰαυτοῦ, οὐτε διὰ τῶν  
'Αποστόλων. Ep. ad Magnes. p.  
33.

Magnesians. <sup>9</sup> As the Lord  
(says he) did nothing of himself,  
or by his Apostles, without the  
Father; so neither do you without  
the Bishops and Presbyters.

<sup>1</sup> It is to be noted that our cautious Enquirer, in quoting this passage, has left out the whole former part of this comparison in his original in the margin, and these words [*by himself or by his Apostles,*] in his translation of it in the text.

<sup>1</sup> In the relative part of this comparison, we see that what our Lord did either *by himself or his Apostles*, commissioned by him, are implied to be the same thing: and therefore in the correlative, what the Church should do by the mi-

nistry of the Bishop himself, or of the Presbyters commissioned by him, by a just analogy of sense, must be the same too.

That the primitive Bishops could and did assign to Presbyters separate places to minister in, as well as depute them to the Ministry itself, the learned Enquirer himself bears witness in § 11. of this Chapter, where, giving an account of the populous Church of *Alexandria*, he confesses, that because *it was incommodeous for all the people to assemble in their own usual Meeting-place, which was very far from their own homes, and withal to avoid Schism from their Bishop, the people asked leave, and the good Bishop Dionysius granted it, that they should erect a Chapel of Ease.* (He might have said *Chapels* in the Plural, if he

*shop ; since 4 it is unlawful to do any thing without him ; for 5 where the Pastour is, there the Sheep ought to follow ; 6 wherefore 6 as Christ did nothing without the Fa-*

<sup>4</sup> "Οὐκ ἔξον ἐστιν χωρὶς τοῦ επισκόπου, οὐτε βαπτίζειν, οὐτε ἀγάπην ποιεῖν. *Epist. ad Smirn.* p. 6.

<sup>5</sup> "Οπου δὲ ὁ ποιμὴν ἐστιν, ἔκει ὡς ἀρχόβατα ἀκολουθεῖτε. *Epist. ad Philadelph.* p. 40.

<sup>6</sup> "Ἄνευ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου καὶ των

pleased ; for in the Historian himself there is the <sup>2</sup> same authority for it) ; and this about the *Suburbs of the City, and to be under the Bishop's jurisdiction, and guided by a Presbyter of his commission and <sup>3</sup> appointment.*

<sup>2</sup> Κατὰ μέγος Συναγωγά. *Dion. apud Euseb. l. 7. c. 11.*

<sup>3</sup> See Appendix, No. 5.

How directly this passage (from *Euseb. Eccle. Hist. l. 7. c. 11.*) contradicts the whole scheme for which it was produced, is obvious to any Reader by the bare recital of it. Here are several assemblies of Christians under the jurisdiction of one Bishop ; subordinate and accountable Presbyters, by permission and commission of that one Bishop, officiating separately in them ; and distinct places assigned for their doing so. How far this is like our Enquirer's Congregational Diocese, or can be reasonably opposed to a genuine Episcopal one, even in after ages of the Church, I leave the Reader to judge.

<sup>1</sup> There is nothing in the forementioned quotations from *Ignatius*, (the force of all which appears to be much the same,) but what falls in with the interpretation, which I have given of the phrase (*that without the Bishop nothing should be done*) ; unless perhaps it may be said, that the phrases *ἐπι τῷ ἀντί* and *μία δέσησι*, will not consist with this ; by the former of which it is concluded for certain, that the whole Diocese or Bishop's Church assembled *in one place* together ; by the latter, that all public prayer, and religious duties, were so *jointly* performed.

Let the context direct us in the case ; which, together with the sense, that approved Commentators, and other Ecclesiastical writers, give us of the words themselves, will help us to a fair construction of them. In the words immediately preceding, the

πρεσβυτέρων μηδὲν περάσσοντε, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸν μία προσευχὴ, μία δέοσις, εἰς νοῦς, μία ἔλπις. *Epist. ad Magnes.* p. 33.

ther, so do you nothing without the Bishop and Presbyters, but assemble into the same Place, that you may have one

<sup>4</sup> Μηδὲ πειράσσοντε εὐλόγον τι φαίνεσθαι ἴδια ἡμῖν. *Ad Magnes.* p. 33.

holy Martyr warns the *Magnesians*<sup>4</sup> to account nothing for a reasonable service, that was done privately, or in their own pri-

ivate way: agreeably, no doubt, to the Apostolic charge, Heb. x. 25, that *they should not forsake the assembling of themselves together*, but meet for public worship under the proper minister of their Church. Now, if it had been clearly proved by any expressions before, that there neither was nor ought to be, any more than one single house of prayer, or of public worship, within a Bishop's Diocese, and that his personal ministry was absolutely necessary in all divine offices; it might have been fairly inferred, that they were *all* obliged to assemble with him, in that one individual place alone; but since the holy Martyr himself had informed us elsewhere that the most solemn offices of public worship *were valid in themselves and acceptable to God*, when performed by any person whom the Bishop should authorize and approve: we are sure, that if any number or society of members in the Diocese had assembled for public worship, under any Presbyter so commissioned by him, they had answered the full import of the holy Martyr's charge against private and clandestine ways of worshipping.

With respect to the phrase ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸν, I wish to observe, that it does not so much denote a place, as it does a *thing in general*, according to the known rule of all such neutral words. Thus *Grotius* explaining ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸν in *Acts* iii. 1, translates it *circa idem tempus*, that is, *about the same time*. And in *Beza's* Translation of the New Testament, the note and paraphrase upon it, *Acts*

<sup>5</sup> Ita communes Ecclesiae cœtus significantur cum mutua in eandem doctrinam consensione, et

ii. 44,<sup>5</sup> is this; that <sup>5</sup> the common assemblies of the Church, with their mutual agreement in the same doctrine, and the great

*Prayer, one Supplication, one Mind, and one Hope ; for if the Prayer of one or two have so great a force, how much*

7 'Ει γάρ ἐνος καὶ δευτέρου προσευ-  
κη τὸσαυτὴν ισχὺν ἔχει, πόσῳ  
μᾶλλον ἦτε τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, καὶ  
πάσης ἐκκλησίας ; ὁ δὲ μὴ ἐγχό-

*unanimity of their hearts, were signified by it. Agreeable to which construction of it, is what we meet with in the Greek Trans-*

summā animorum concordiā.  
Not. ad Bez. in Act. ii. 44.  
Vid. etiam Poli Synops. in Act. ii. 44.

*lation of Ps. xxxiv. 3, where that which the Septuagint render ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸν, by Aquila is translated ὥμοδυμαδὸν, that is, with one mind, and one heart. It is said in Acts iv. 26, 27, that Herod, Pilate, the Gentiles, and the people of Israel, were gathered against Christ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸν—were they all in one place, and at one time together ? And I need not remind the reader that in Justin Martyr's use of the phrase, (see page 29,) it could not be understood in the sense that our learned Enquirer here puts upon it, without the absurdity of bringing the Christians of whole Cities and Countries together, into one and the same individual place at once*

But is it possible, you will say, that μία προσευχὴ and μία δέσησις, that is one prayer and one supplication for a whole Church, should be consistent with this plurality of Congregations ?

Let us see what we mean by it ; and then perhaps we shall argue more clearly about it.

From the nature of the thing itself, it is clear that prayer must be *one*, either in respect of the phrase and words in which it is uttered ; or in respect of the sense and substance, the heads or subject matter of which it is composed : that is, it must be one, either in respect of the *matter*, or in respect of the *form* of it ; for to say it must be *one* here, on the account of admitting but one place or one person in a Diocese to offer it up, is to *beg the question*, which it is brought to prove. Now, that it is not meant to be *one*, in the former sense, will, I suppose, be readily granted ; for that would make St. Ignatius to prescribe a form, or mere common Liturgy in the Church : which our opponents would scarcely allow. And therefore, 2dly, it must be understood to be *one*, in

μενος ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ, οὗτος ἡδη ὑπερηφανεῖ καὶ ἐαυτὸν διεκρίνει, γέγερπται γαρ ὑπερηφανός οὐδὲ Θεὸς ἀντιτάσσεται, σπουδάζωμεν οὖν μή ἀντιτάσσεσθαι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, ἵνα ὥμεν Θεου ὑποτασσόμενοι. *Epist. ad Ephes.* p. 20.

more prevalent must that be, which is made by the *Bishop* and the whole *Church*? *He then that doth not assemble together, is proud, and hath condemned himself: For it is written, God resisteth the Proud.* Let us not therefore

respect of the sense and substance of it; or, in plainer terms, it must be prayer made with strict analogy to the one common faith, and sound doctrine of the one Catholic Church throughout the Christian world, as every true Christian prayer ought to be.

That this was St. *Ignatius's* meaning in the phrase, we may infer, 1st, from the words he immediately joins with it, *one prayer, one supplication*, (says he) *one mind, and one hope*;—the two latter words imply a plain unity in them, and yet have so diffusive a sense, as to extend to all the Congregations of the Catholic Church; and therefore why not the two former? And 2dly, we may infer it from the use he was then making of it: which was to secure them from schism and heretical opinions.

*Tertullian*, in his *Apology*, declares to the *Roman Magistrates*, what kind of prayer the Christian Churches used in general, how innocent their petitions were, and frankly mentions several particulars of them, by way of upbraiding them for persecuting subjects that *prayed*, and lived so loyally and harmlessly as they

<sup>6</sup> *Oramus pro Imperatoribus, pro ministris eorum, ac potestatis, pro statu seculi, pro rerum quiete, pro morâ finis.*  
Tertul. *Apol.* c. 39

did. <sup>6</sup> If he could declare this without some common *Liturgies* (then at least) in use among them, or some known *Canon* of the Ministerial Offices; surely

it could be on no other grounds than this, that he was sure the prayers of the Christian Churches were one, and the same, in all places; that is, they were bound to bear a strict analogy to that one *Creed*, that one and the same system of Christian doctrine, and that one divine model of all prayer, which our blessed Lord delivered to them, and by which all of them were known to be guided.

*resist the Bishop, that we may be subject to God.* So that these Passages clearly prove, That all the Members of the Bishops Church assembled together in one Place to send up their common Prayers to the Throne of Grace, and to discharge those other Religious Duties which were incumbent on them; which convincingly evidences the Bishops Church to be no bigger than our Parishes; for if it had been bigger, it would have been impossible, that the Members thereof, should have constantly assembled together in one Place, as we see here they did.

2. <sup>5</sup>The Bishop had but one Altar or Communion Table in his whole Diocess, at which his whole Flock received

<sup>5</sup> For proof of this, our author cites those words of St. *Ignatius* to the *Philadelphiaians*, “ *There is but one altar, as but one Bishop.*” To explain which phrase, I shall join to it a parallel expression of St. *Cyprian*; rendered by our Enquirer thus: <sup>7</sup> “ *No man can regularly constitute a new Bishop, or erect a new altar, besides the one Bishop and the one altar.*” It is very evident that what St. *Cyprian* here calls a *new Priesthood*, and *one Priesthood*, our learned author renders by *a new Bishop* and *one Bishop*: which proves, indeed, that he believed it to be a parallel place to that of St. *Ignatius*, (as it really is,) because he translates both in the very same words. But, in the mean time, he so disguises St. *Cyprian*’s text, that he hides from the *English* reader’s sight the main key which would open the genuine sense of this, and similar expressions; not only in these two Fathers, but in all the writings of primitive antiquity. For the unity of the altar, the unity of the Bishop, the unity of the Eucharist, the unity of Christian prayer, and the very unity of the whole Church itself, all rest upon the same foundation that the unity of the Christian *Priesthood* does; <sup>8</sup> “ *Episcopacy, (says St. Cyprian, in his*

<sup>7</sup> *Aliud altare constitui, aut Sacerdotium novum fieri, præter unum, altare et unum Sacerdotium, non potest.* Cyp. Ep. 40. §. 4. Edit. Pamel. Ep. 43. Edit. Oxon.

<sup>8</sup> *Episcopatus est unus, cuius a singulis in solidum pars tene-*

<sup>1</sup> Ἐν θυσιαστήρειον ὡς εἰς ἑταῖρον θυσίας. the Sacrament from him.  
*Epist. ad Philad. p. 41.* <sup>1</sup> *There is but one Altar, says Ignatius, as there is but one Bishop.* At this Altar the Bishop administred the Sacrament to his whole Flock at

tur. Ecclesia quoque una est, quæ in multitudinem latius incremento fecunditatis extenditur: quo modo solis multi radii, sed lumen unum, &c: Numerositas licet diffusa videatur exundantis copiæ largitate, *unitas* tamen servatur *in origine*. Cypr. de Unit. Eccl. p. 108. Edit. Oxon.

Tract of the *Unity of the Church*) is but one: a part whereof each (Bishop) holds, so as to be interested for the whole. The Church is also one, which by its fruitful increase improves into a multitude, as the beams of the sun are many, as branches from trees, and streams from a fountain: whose number, though it seems dispersed by the abundant plenty of them, yet their unity is

preserved by the common original of them all. Let us just apply this plain rule to the passage before us; and we shall see that the primitive expressions of *one Church*, *one altar*, and *one Bishop*, may evidently consist with as many Churches, Altars and Bishops, as can be proved to have been derived from the same original Institutior; and that, in a primitive Bishop's Diocese, as well as in the most extensive one of this or any former ages, instead of there necessarily being but one Communion-Table, there might have been several, provided every one who ministered at any of them, had a just commission from his Bishop to do so. Hence we see what *Ignatius* meant, when he said (Epist. ad Ephes. p. 20): Let us take care not to *resist or draw up forces against the Bishop, if we intend not to withdraw our subjection from God*: and what the ancients meant, when they called a schismatical usurpation of the Episcopal power, by the name of a *profane altar*. This our learned Enquirer urges again and again, as an argument to prove, that there could be but one single Congregation in a whole Diocese, though the ministers of a second, or third, or more, should agree with the Bishop himself in all his principles and ministrations, and be even authorized

one time. So writes *Cyprian*, <sup>2</sup> *We celebrate the Sacrament, the whole Brotherhood being present.* And

<sup>2</sup> *Sacramenti veritatem fraternitate omni præsente celebramus.* *Epist. 63. §. 12. p. 177.*

and approved of by him; whereas <sup>9</sup> *St. Ignatius* expressly tells us, that a Bishop might so authorize and approve them, in which case they were so far from being thought to have erected a *profane altar*, that they were truly owned to be but one.

<sup>1</sup> The second part of our Author's main proposition is, *that all the people of the Diocese received together at once.* In support of this he quotes some words from *St. Cyprian* which he is pleased to render thus, <sup>1</sup> *"We celebrate the Sacrament, the whole brotherhood being present.* Observe what an useful turn he gives to this quotation, by translating it with that variation, *we do celebrate*, instead of *that we might celebrate*; which makes it directly *St. Cyprian's* act and deed in his own Diocese. The occasion of the words, as they stand in the original, was this :

<sup>1</sup> *Ut sacramenti veritatem fraternitate omni præsente celebremus.* *Cyp. Ep. 63. Edit. Oxon. 1691. Amstel.*

<sup>2</sup> *St. Cyprian* was complaining to *Cæcilius* of persons in some *places*, who, either out of ignorance, or simplicity of heart, celebrated the holy Eucharist with water only in the Chalice, without wine. What! (*says*

<sup>2</sup> *Quoniam quidam vel ignoranter, vel simpliciter in calice dominico sacrificando et plebi ministrando, non hoc faciunt, quod Jesus Christus sacrificii hujus auctor—fecit, &c.* *Cypr. ib. sub init.*

*the zealous Bishop,*) are they afraid, that the heathen should discover them in their morning sacrifices, by the smell of wine? What will they do in time of persecution, if they are so ashamed of the blood of Christ in the very offerings themselves? or do many of them excuse themselves thus; that though water only was offered in the morning, yet when they come to supper, they offer a mixed cup then? To

<sup>3</sup> Τῇ τοῦ ἡλίου λεγομένη ἡμέρᾳ παντων ἐστὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνέλευσις γίνεται, διάδοσις καὶ ἡ μεταληψίς ἀπὸ τῶν εὐχαριστηθέντων ἐκάστῳ γίνεται, καὶ τοῖς οὐ παροῦσι διὰ τῶν διακόνων πέμπεται. *Apolog.* 2. p. 98.

not be large, where all usually communicated at one time; and the Deacons carried about the Consecrated Eucharist to those that were absent; which would have been an endless and painful Task for the Deacons, had their

which St. *Cyprian* replies, But when we sup, we cannot call the people to our feast, *that we might celebrate the truth of the Sacrament*, (namely in a mixed cup, as it ought to be,) *with all the brotherhood about us*.

This is the occasion of the words before us; in which, it is easy to perceive, there is no reference to St. *Cyprian* in person, or possibly to any in his Diocese, though in the name of Christians in general, he says, that *we might celebrate* the Sacrament aright, &c. If the words did refer to him, they would demonstrate that he had more Congregations than one in his Church; for in his own Cathedral, he surely did not minister so, or else he would be reasoning strangely indeed.

It is evident that *all the brotherhood* here, is put in opposition to Christians in their private families. What any private persons should do in their own houses now, which ought to be done in their Parish Church, might very properly be reproved, by saying they ought to have done it, when *all the brotherhood* were assembled together.

To prove the grand point of his general propositions, viz., that a primitive Bishop administered the Sacrament to his whole flock, he refers again to that passage in *Justin Martyr*, (*Apolog.* 2. p. 98.) which, as rendered by him, contains (as I have already shewn) an irreconcilable inconsistency in it, and, if rendered aright, proves nothing to his purpose.

thus it was in *Justin Martyr's* Days, <sup>3</sup> *The Bishop's whole Diocese met together on Sunday, when the Bishop gave them the Eucharist; and if any were absent, he sent it to them by the Deacons.*

Certainly that Diocese could

Bishoprick contained more Christians in it, than one Congregation would have held. <sup>v</sup> *Tertullian* writes, that in

<sup>v</sup> How do we know that *Tertullian's Presidents* in this place (for that is his word, as we may see in the margin,<sup>3</sup>) were the *Bishops* only? The Enquirer tells us in chap. 4. § 3. Obs. 10, that *President* was one *discretive appellation of a Bishop*; and yet he allows that St. *Cyprian* calls his *Presbyters Presidents* too. Is it so certain that *Tertullian* could use the word *President* in one sense, when his great disciple St. *Cyprian* confessedly used it in another? At least, would not one think our ingenious Author should have added a note here to show, that, in this passage, *Tertullian* could have meant nothing else by his *Presidents*, but *Bishops* of a Diocese; since he himself had made that observation for us?

If the context be examined, we shall find that *Tertullian* was contending for the authority of *Tradition*, for many common rites then used in the Christian Church, without a Scripture warrant.

<sup>4</sup> Amongst these customs, he instances a general practice then in the Church, to communicate in the morning, as well as that of which we are now speaking, viz, to receive the communion from the *Presidents' hands alone*: words which imply neither more nor less, I think, than this; that as the Sacrament was then generally administered in the morning, so wherever it was administered, the consecrated elements were usually delivered to the communicants by the hands of those only, who presided in the several assemblies, where those holy exercises were performed: that is, I conceive, by the officiating ministers <sup>5</sup> themselves. What appearance of proof there is in all this, for a Bishop's personally distributing the blessed elements to every communicant in his whole Diocese, at one time and in one place, I know not.

<sup>3</sup> Nec de aliorum manu quam *Præsidentium* sumimus. *Tert.* de Coron. Mil. p. 121. Edit. Rigalt. Lutetiæ, 1641.

<sup>4</sup> *Eucharistiæ sacramentum, et in tempore victus, et omnibus mandatum a Domino, etiam antelucanis cœtibus, nec de aliorum manu, quam Præsidentium sumimus. Tertul.* *Ib.*

<sup>5</sup> *Whereas in many places (as Justin Martyr tells us,) the Deacons used to do it.*

<sup>4</sup> Nec de aliorum manu quam de praesidentium sumimus. *De coronand militis*, p. 338.

alone. Now in those Days and Places they communicated

<sup>5</sup> *Vide de oratione*, p. 661. at least <sup>5</sup> three times a

Week *viz. Wednesdays, Fridays*, and *Lord's Days*, which had been impossible to have been done, if the Bishop had had Inspection over more than one Congregation, as is obvious to every ones Reason; for the Bishop being Finite and Corporeal as well as others, could not be present in many Places at once, but must be confined to one determinated fixed Place, in which alone he could administer and dispense the Eucharist: And for this Reason it is, that *Ignatius* exhorts

<sup>6</sup> Μία εὐχαριστία κεησθαι. *Epist. ad Philadelph.* p. 40.

and communicate elsewhere, but to partake of that single Eucharist which was administred by him: For as he

<sup>7</sup> Μία γας σάρξ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἐν ποτήσιον, ἐν θυσίαστήριον, ὡς εἰς ἐπίσκοπον. *Ibid.*

one Bishop in a Church, so there was but one Altar, a Bishop and an Altar being Correlates: So that to set up another Altar, was a Periphrasis of a Schismatick, or of one that causelessly separated from his lawful Bishop, and sat up another, which was that they called *Schism*, as we shall shew in its proper Place. Thus *Cyprian* describes a Schismatick as one, <sup>8</sup> that contemns his Bishop, leaves the ministers of God, and dares to set up another Altar:

his Time and Country, <sup>4</sup> the Christians received the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper from the hands of the Bishop

at least <sup>5</sup> three times a Week *viz. Wednesdays, Fridays*,

the *Philadelphians* <sup>6</sup> to use the one Eucharist, that is,

not to leave the Bishop,

proceeds to say in the same place, <sup>7</sup> There is but one Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, one Cup, one Altar, and one Bishop. As there was but

<sup>8</sup> Contemptis episcopis, et Dei Sacerdotibus derelictis constitutere audet aliud altare. *De Unitat. Ecclesiæ*, § 15. p. 301.

And particularly he brands *Novatian* as such an one, because <sup>9</sup> he erected a profane

<sup>9</sup> Profanum altare erigere. *Ep.* 67. §. 2. *p.* 198.

Altar, that is, an Altar in opposition to the Altar of *Cornelius* his lawful Bishop: For, as he saith in another Place, <sup>1</sup> *No Man can regularly constitute a new Bishop, or erect a new Altar, besides the one Bishop, and the one Altar:*

For which reason he calls the Altar that is erected by Schismatics, against the One Altar of their lawful Bishops,

<sup>2</sup> *A profane Altar:* Which agrees with that of *Ignatius*, that <sup>3</sup> *He that is within the Altar is pure, but he that does any thing without the Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, is impure:* and as he says in another place, <sup>4</sup> *Whosoever is without the Altar, wants the bread of God.*

<sup>1</sup> Aliud altare constitui, aut Sacerdotium novum fieri, præter unum altare, et unum Sacerdotium, non potest. *Epist.* 40. §. 4. *p.* 93.

<sup>2</sup> Altare profanum. *Epist.* 65. §. 4. *p.* 193.

<sup>3</sup> Οὐ ἐντὸς θυσιαστηγίου ἡν, καθα-  
ρός ἐστιν, τοὐτὸν ἐστιν, ὁ χωρὶς  
ἐπισκόπου καὶ πρεσβυτερίου, καὶ  
διακόνου πράσσων τι, οὗτος οὐ  
καθαρός ἐστιν τὴν συνειδήσει. *Epist.*  
ad Tralles. *p.* 50.

<sup>4</sup> Εἳν μάτις οὐ ἐντὸς του θυσιαστη-  
γίου, ὑστέρεται τοῦ ἄρχοντος τοῦ Θεοῦ.  
*Epist. ad Ephes.* *p.* 20.

3. <sup>w</sup> The other Sacrament of Baptism was generally administred by the Bishops alone within their Respective

<sup>w</sup> What the word *generally* implies, we may learn from Chap. 4. §. 2. Obs. 1; where our Enquirer himself tells us, from the same *Tertullian*, that the Bishop hath the right of Baptism, then the Presbyters and Deacons: but for the honour of the Church not without the Bishop's authority.

It appears from this quotation, that the Presbyters and Deacons might baptize in the Diocese, if the Bishop allowed them to do it, (as St. *Ignatius* admitted that Baptism to be acceptable to God, which the Bishop should approve). Because then the Bishop with his Presbyters and Deacons must baptize all in the Diocese; does it necessarily follow that a Diocese must be only

<sup>5</sup> Sub Antistitis contestamur nos renunciare diabolo et pompæ. *De Coron. Milit.* p. 336.

<sup>6</sup> Non nisi in Ecclesiâ præpositis licere baptizare. *Epist.* 73. §. 6. p. 220.

<sup>7</sup> Potestatem baptizandi Episcopis dedit. *Act. Concil. Carth.* apud *Cyprian.* p. 445.

<sup>7</sup> *gave unto the Bishops the power of baptizing.* So that the Bishops did ordinarily baptize all the Persons that were baptized in their Diocesses; and if so, it is not probable, I may say possible, that their Diocesses were extended beyond the bulk of single Congregations.

4. The Churches Charity, was Deposited with the Bishop, who, as *Justin Martyr* reports, <sup>x</sup> *was the com-*

*a Congregational Church?* As for the Bishop's *generally* baptizing all in his Diocese, that is our Enquirer's own assertion; it certainly is not *Tertullian's*.

The Form of Renunciation, which all adult Catechumens used in their own persons to testify their *forsaking the Devil, and the Pomp, &c*, before they actually were baptized, might probably and possibly have been made in the presence of the Bishop himself, even though the Diocese had a plurality of Congrega-

<sup>6</sup> Diem baptismo solennem pascha præstat, exinde Pentecoste, ordinandis lavachris latissimum spatium est, quo et domini Resurrectio inter discipulos frequentata est. *Tertul. de Bapt.* c. 19. *Edit. Rigal. Lutet.* 1641.

<sup>6</sup> since it was a very large space of time (as *Tertullian* expresses it,) which was set apart for this very ordering of Baptism every year, even the fifty days from Easter to Whitsuntide, including the Festivals, as his account of it in the Margin shews.

<sup>x</sup> The seeming force of this argument does not lie in *Justin*.

*mon Curator and Overseer of all the Orphans, Widows, Diseased, Strangers, Imprisoned, and, in a Word, of all those that were needy and* ἀλλην αἰτίαν λειπομένοις, καὶ τοῖς ἐν δεσμοῖς οὖσι, καὶ τοῖς παξεπιδημοῖς οὖσι ξένοις, καὶ ἀπλῶς, τοῖς ἐν χρείᾳ οὖσι κηδεμῶν γίνεται. *Apolo.* 2. p. 99.

*Martyr's* words, but in the manner in which the inference from them is worded. The holy *Martyr* had said just before, that the people's alms were deposited in their President's hands ; and immediately subjoins, that *he* took care to relieve all sorts of distressed persons, out of the offerings so entrusted to him. Our Enquirer infers, that he *personally* did this; by which he would have us to understand, that all whom the Church's Charity relieved, the Bishop *personally* visited ; that he inspected every individual case, and distributed relief to the sufferers with his own hand ; and to give a better colour to this interpretation, he finds out a noted Parish term for this Episcopal Almoner, and calls him an *Overseer*.

I appeal to the common sense of mankind, whether any public trust of this nature was ever understood to be necessarily so executed in any sort of society whatsoever. I believe that *Justin Martyr* himself, or any other Christian writer, would have ventured to say as much, or more than all we have here, of St. Paul's care in treasuring up and distributing the alms of many Christian Congregations, for the relief of all his Churches : and, yet he had succoured but a small part of the whole, if what he prevailed on the several Churches to collect, what the Presbyters and Elders did by his order in the matter, and what messengers distributed in his behalf, had not been imputed to himself, as common governour and guardian of them all. Why then should it be thought so impracticable a thing, for any single person to take care of distressed Christians in more than a single Congregation ? Besides, the charity of the Church in those days was, among other uses, to be employed for the relief of banished and captive brethren in mines, in islands, in most remote and barbarous Countries ; in what sense did the Bishop personally do all this ?

<sup>9</sup> *Epist. ad Polycarp. p. 12.* *indigent.* To this charitable Office *Ignatius* adviseth, <sup>9</sup>*Polycarpus*; but of that Advice, more shall be spoken in another place; only let us here observe, That that Diocess could not be very large, where the Bishop personally relieved and succoured all the Poor and Indigent therein.

5. ✓ All the People of a Diocess were present at Church

✓ Our Enquirer observes, in no less than seventeen or eighteen instances here adduced together, that when the Ancient Church-writers give an account of public and solemn acts of discipline in a Diocese, (as censures, excommunications, absolutions, elections, ordinations, or the like,) they tell us, such acts were done *before the whole Church, before the multitude, before all the people, by the suffrage of all the brotherhood, with the knowledge, and in the presence, of the people.* And hence he concludes, that the whole Diocese personally met together in one place upon these occasions, and consequently made but one single Congregation.

Now here I cannot but observe, that this singular construction of such familiar forms of speech, bears very hard upon the common sense and language of mankind. Can no public acts of civil justice, or solemn ministrations in the Church among us, be said to pass in *the face of the Country, before all the people, openly and in the sight of all men; nay, in the face of the whole world,* (as some would think it no absurdity to say,) unless the matter of fact answered to the very letter of the phrase? Are not all public acts of Church or State, (as to discipline and government,) familiarly distinguished from any others, by such a latitude of expression, and no otherwise understood by any man than that a general liberty is given to all, who either can, or will, or are concerned to be present at them, to come and offer what they think material; to judge or bear witness of the regularity and justice of what is done? If every individual member of each respective society were expected to be personally present at such solemnities, neither Courts, nor Halls, nor Cathedrals, were

Censures, as *Origen* describes an Offender, as appearing <sup>1</sup> before the whole Church. So *Clemens Romanus* calls the Censures of the Church <sup>2</sup> the things commanded by the Multitude,

<sup>1</sup> Ἐπὶ πάσοις τῆς ἐκκλησίας. Comment. in Matth. Tom. 13. p. 335. Vol. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Τὰ προστασθμευτὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ πληθεοῦ. Epist. 1. ad Cor. p. 69.

ever yet erected, that could answer the occasions which the Church or State would have for them. And yet no *English* author, I am persuaded, would think it an impropriety to say, that such public acts of law or discipline, were done in the presence, sight, and cognizance of the whole country, Church, or people; and if no exceptions, but rather apparent acclamations were made, (as is not unusual upon such occasions,) they would say, they were done with the general consent, suffrage, and approbation of them all.

The Enquirer's way of arguing bears no less hard upon the language of Scripture. What more familiar phrase in the whole history of the Law delivered by Moses, and during all the time of his government, than that *Moses himself spake to all the Congregation of Israel, whatsoever the Lord commanded him*, (Ex. xxxv. 1, 4. Deut. v. 1; xxix. 2, &c.) Nay, even in the ears of all the *Congregation of Israel*, he is said to speak (Deut. xxxi. 30) the words of that song, which he left for a testimony amongst them? And at the 28th verse immediately foregoing, he gives a key for the understanding of such phrases, saying; *Gather unto me the Elders of the Tribes, and the Officers, that I may speak these words in their ears, and call heaven and earth to record against them*. Hence it appears that whatsoever *Moses* spake in such a manner, as was sufficient to convey his words and precepts (though not immediately with his own mouth) to all the Tribes of Israel, <sup>7</sup> that the holy Prophet himself thought not improperly expressed, when he said afterwards, that he spoke them to the whole *Congregation of Israel*.

<sup>7</sup> For like phrases in the New Testament, see Matth. iii. 5. John xii. 19. Acts xvii. 5.

And so the two offending Subdeacons and Acolyth at  
 3 Plebe universâ. *Cyprian Ep. Carthage* were to be tried  
 28. §. 2. p. 64. 3 before the whole People.

6. No Offenders were restored again to the Churches Peace, without the knowledge and consent of the whole Diocess: So *Cyprian* writes, that before they were re-admitted to Communion, *they were to 4 plead their Cause before all the people.* And 30.

it was ordained by an *African* Synod, that except in danger of Death, or an instantaneous Persecution, none should be received into the 5 Sine petitu et conscientiâ Churches Peace, 5 without plebis. *Apud Cyprian. Epist.* 59. §. 1. p. 164. *the knowledge and consent of the People.*

7. When the Bishop of a Church was dead, all the People of that Church met together in one Place to chuse a new Bishop. 2 So *Sabinus* was elected Bishop of *Emerita*,

2 If our Enquirer's way of reasoning be right, then it will prove the Dioceses of latter ages, as well as the most ancient, to have been but mere Congregational Churches. He tells us from St. *Cyprian*, that *Sabinus* was elected Bishop of *Emerita* by the Suffrage of all the Brotherhood. This was in the third age.

Now *Theodoret* tells us, that *Nectarius* was made Bishop of 8 Πάσοις ἐπιψηφίζομένς τῆς πόλεως.

9 Πάσοις συμψήφου τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, ὡσπερ διὰ μιᾶς φωνῆς. *Theod.* 1. 5. c. 9. p. 211. *Paris.* 1673,

suffrage for him. This was towards the latter end of the fourth age. *Platina* says the like of

1 Uno omnium consensu creatur pontifex. *Plat.* in *Vit. Greg.*

2 Gregorium plebs omnis elegit. *Greg.* *Turon.* *Hist.* *Franc.* 1. 10. c. 1.

Gregory the Great, that he was made Bishop of *Rome*, by the 1 unanimous consent of all. 2 All the people chose him says *Gregory of Tours*; and this at the very close of the sixth age.

<sup>6</sup> by the Suffrage of all the Brotherhood; which was also the Custom throughout all Africa, <sup>7</sup> for the Bishop to be chosen in the Presence of the People. And so *Fabianus* was chosen to be Bishop of *Rome*, <sup>8</sup> by all the Brethren who were met together in one place for that very end.

7. <sup>a</sup> At the Ordinations of the Clergy the whole Body

<sup>6</sup> De universæ fraternitatis suffragio. *Apud. Cypr. Epist.* 68. §. 6. p. 202.

<sup>7</sup> Apud nos quoque et ferè per provincias universas tenetur, ut ad eam plebem cui præpositus ordinatur, episcopi ejusdem Provinciæ proximi quique conveniant, et episcopus deligatur plebe præsente. *Ibidem.*

<sup>8</sup> Τῶν γαρ ἀδελφῶν ἀπάντων χρι-  
στονιάς ἔνεκεν ἐπὶ της ἐκκλησίας  
συγκεκριμένων. *Apud Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 28. p. 229.*

<sup>a</sup> The *Roman* Presbyters, in their letter to *Honorius*, the Emperor, (which was in the fifth century,) speak just the same thing in relation to *Boniface*, their Bishop, whom they chose and consecrated in that very manner.

<sup>3</sup> On a set day (say they) calling all to an assembly, we went to a Church we had all agreed upon, and there consulting with the Christian people, we chose him whom God had ordered; for by the applause of all the people, and the consent of the best in the city, we pitched upon the venerable Boniface, a man ordained and consecrated by divine institution. Here is an election and ordination in one certain place, in a general assembly of the Church;—a consultation with, and applause of, all the people in it; but it is very certain that there were many Congregations in the Church of *Rome* at that time. What proof such arguments can be, that there were no more than one in St. Cyprian's time, I leave every impartial reader to judge.

<sup>3</sup> Altero die ad Ecclesiam ubi prius ab omnibus tum erat constitutum, habita omnium collatione, properavimus, ibique participato cum Christiana plebe consilio, quem Deus jus-  
sit elegimus; nam venerabilem virum Bonifacium—acclamati-  
one totius populi ac consensu  
meliorum civitatis asseruimus,  
divinæ institutionis ordine con-  
secratum. *Baron. An. 419.*  
*N. 8. Mag. 1601. p. 442.*

of the People were present. So an *African Synod* held *Anno 258*, determined, <sup>1</sup> *That the Ordination of Ministers ought to be done with the knowledge, and in the Presence of the People, that the People being present, either the Crimes of the wicked may be detected, or the Merits of the good declared; and so the Ordination may be Just and Lawful, being approved by the Suffrage and Judgment of all.* And Bishop *Cyprian* writes from his Exile, to

<sup>2</sup> *In Ordinationibus Clericis, Fratres charissimi, solemus vos ante consulere, et mores, ac merita singulorum communis concilio ponderare. Ad Plebem Universam, Epist. 33. p. 76.*

<sup>3</sup> Συνενδοκησάσθντος τῆς ἐκκλησίας πάσσοντος. *Clemens Romanus Epist. 1. ad Cor. p. 57.*

<sup>1</sup> *That the Ordination of Ministers ought to be done with the knowledge, and in the Presence of the People, that the People being present, either the Crimes of the wicked may be detected, or the Merits of the good declared; and so the Ordination may be Just and Lawful, being approved by the Suffrage and Judgment of all.* And Bishop *Cyprian* writes from his Exile, to all the People of his Diocess, that <sup>2</sup> *it had been his constant Practice in all Ordinations, to consult their Opinions, and by their common Counsels to weigh the manners and merits of every one:* Therein imitating the Example of the Apostles and Apostolick Men, who ordained none, but *with the <sup>3</sup> Approbation of the whole Church.*

9. Publick Letters from one Church to another were read before the whole Diocess. Thus *Cornelius* Bishop of *Rome*,

<sup>4</sup> *Sanctissimae atque amplissimae plebi legere. Cyprian. Epist. 55. §. 21. p. 144.*

<sup>5</sup> *Tῷ παροικίᾳ πάσσοντος. Epist. Synod. Antioch. apud Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 30. p. 279.*

whatever Letters he received from foreign Churches, *he always read them to his most holy and numerous People.* And without doubt when *Fermilian* writ <sup>5</sup> *to all the*

*Parish of Antioch*, they could all assemble together to read his Letter, and return an answer to it ; since we find that in those days one whole Church writ to another whole Church, as <sup>3</sup> *the Church of Rome writ to the Church of Corinth*. And <sup>b</sup> *Cyprian* <sup>4</sup> and *his whole Flock*, sent gratulatory Letters to Pope *Lucius* upon his return from Exile.

<sup>b</sup> Could not a Bishop write a public congratulatory letter in his own name, and in the name of *all his fraternity*, (as our Enquirer observes *St. Cyprian* did to *Lucius*,) without having all the *fraternity*, i. e. all the people of his Diocese, present with him ? Undoubtedly he could in the sense *St. Cyprian* meant. If all the people of his own Diocese were assembled together at the sending of that letter, then all the people of many other Dioceses, and probably of his whole Province, were assembled together for the same purpose too : for his words are <sup>4</sup> *I and my colleagues, and all the fraternity, send this letter to you.* Now the word *Colleagues* in <sup>4</sup> *Ego et collegae, et fraternitas omnis, has ad vos litteras mittimus. Cypr. Ep. 58. §. 2. vel Epist. 61. Edit. Oxon.* *St. Cyprian's* language is unquestionably understood of Fellow-Bishops, and given by him to no other order of Ecclesiastics whatever ; so that by all the fraternity subjoined to them, he must mean that they and their Churches (as the occasion required) sent unanimous congratulations to the Confessor *Lucius*, so lately returned from banishment.

If this be thought no clear construction of the place, let us compare it with the Synodical Epistle of the Council of *Antioch*. The Bishops in that council writing to *Dionysius*, the Bishop of *Rome*, and *Maximus*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, first prefix their own names <sup>5</sup> to the Epistle, and then join with them *the Churches of God also* ; that is, unquestionably the Churches

<sup>5</sup> "Ελενος, και Τιμενχιος, και Θεοφιλος—Και οι λοιποι πάντες οι σὺν ήμιν παροικοῦντες τὰς ἐγγύς πόλεις και οθην Επίσκοποι Πιστούτεροι και

Lastly, The whole Diocess of the Bishop did meet all together to manage Church-Affairs. Thus when the Secundum arbitrium quoque vestrum, ea quæ agenda sunt disponere pariter et limare poterimus. *Ad Plebem Epist. 40.* §. 7. p. 94. Schism of *Felicissimus* in the Bishoprick of *Carthage* was to be debated, <sup>5</sup> *It was to be done according to the will of the People, and by the consent of the Laity.* And when there were some hot Disputes about the Restitution of the Lapsed, the said *Cyprian*

<sup>6</sup> Tunc examinabuntur singula præsentibus et judicantibus vobis. *Ad Plebem Epist. 12.* §. 1. p. 37.

a Messenger to any Foreign Church, all the People could meet together to <sup>7</sup> chuse that Messenger, as they could in the Church of *Philadelphia*.

*Διάκονοι, καὶ ἀ: Ἐκκλησίαι Θεού ἀγαπητοῖς, &c.—χαίρειν.* they presided over, who jointly concurred in the account they there give of *Paulus Samosatenus's* case. Now can it be supposed, that the whole Dioceses of those several Bishops were personally present with them in the council? Certainly Bishops or the chief magistrates of any Society or Corporation, may, in consistory or council, write letters of a public import in the name of the Society or Body to which they belong, without convening or polling all the individual members of it. And their reading of such letters *to their numerous people*, (which is another argument our learned Enquirer insists upon,) is better accounted for in such an obvious sense, than he, in his literal and constrained sense of such expressions, could ever account for king <sup>6</sup> *Josiah's reading the Book of the Covenant in the ears of all the men of Judah, and all the inhabitants of Jerusalem.*

<sup>6</sup> 2 Kings xxiii. 2.

*Jo-siah's reading the Book of the*

Now put all these Observations together, and duly consider, whether they do not prove the Primitive Parishes to be no larger than our modern ones are ; that is, that they had no more Believers or Christians in them than there are now in ours. I do not say, that the Ancient Bishopricks had no larger Territories, or no greater space of Ground, than our Parishes have. On the contrary, it is very probable that many of them had much more ; since in those early days of Christianity, in many places the Faithful might be so few, as that for twenty or thirty Miles round, they might associate together under one Bishop, and make up but one Church, and that a small one too ; But this I say, that how large soever their Local Extent was, their Members made but one single Congregation, and had no more Christians in it, than our Parishes now have : For that Diocess cannot possibly be more than one single Congregation, where all the People met together, at one time, Prayed together, Received the Sacrament together, assisted at Church-Censures together, and dispatched Church-Affairs together ; and yet the Members of the Primitive Diocesses did all this together, as the preceding Observations evidently declare ; so that I might stop here, and add no farther Proofs to that which hath been already so clearly proved.

§. 3. But yet that we may more clearly illustrate this Point, we shall demonstrate it by another method, *viz.* By shewing the real Bulk and Size of those Bishopricks, concerning whom we have any Notices, remaining on ancient Records ; and manifest, that the very largest of them were no greater than our particular Congregations are. And for the proof of this, we shall quote the Writings of St.

There are some few quotations among the rest in this place, which urge the necessity of all the people's presence, on account of the part and right they *all* had to judge of any offence, that was brought before the consistory of the Church ; but these

*Ignatius*, in whose genuine Epistles there is such an account of the Bishopricks of *Smirna*, *Ephesus*, *Magnesia*, *Philadelphia*, and *Trallium*, as manifestly evidences them to be but so many single Congregations.

As for the Diocess of *Smirna*, its extent could not be very

<sup>1</sup> Μηδεὶς χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπίσκοπου τὶ πρεσβεστῶν τῶν ἀνηκόντων εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐκείνην βεβαίᾳ εὐχαριστίᾳ ἡγεῖσθω ἢ ὑπὸ τον ἐπίσκοπον οὖσα ἢ ὡς ἀν αὐτὸς ἐπιτεγμένη ὅπου ἂν φανῇ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ἐκεῖ τὸ πλῆθος ἔστω οὐκ ἔξιν ἔστιν χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπίσκοπου

large, since, <sup>1</sup> nothing of Church-Affairs was done there without the Bishop; he baptized and administered the Eucharist, and none else could do it within his Cure without his permission;

will be more properly considered in the following chapters, where they are repeated to us again, and offered as proofs of such a right and practice in the Primitive Church. In the mean time, I cannot but remark, how often the same quotations are brought over and over again in this short Enquiry, to serve the different ends of it, and to make it appear a work of great variety of reading, and strongly supported by Primitive authority.

We have an instance of this in the 3rd and 4 following Sections of this chapter. Our Author, as we have already seen, had gleaned all the short phrases in St. *Ignatius's* epistles, that he thought gave any countenance to his hypothesis, and offered them at once to prove his general proposition. And now he applies parts of the self-same quotations to prove, that the Dioceses of *Smyrna*, *Ephesus*, *Magnesia*, *Philadelphia*, and *Trallium*, were mere Congregational Churches, and no more. Since these quotations add no weight to the authority, however they may appear to increase its bulk, it is quite superfluous to take more notice of his repeated arguments here, about *one Altar*, *one Eucharist*, *one prayer for the whole Church*; about *the Bishop's taking one common care of them all*; *the people's doing nothing without the Bishop*; and *assembling together in one place, &c.*

where-ever he was, his whole Flock followed him; which they might without any inconvenience do, since they <sup>a</sup> frequently assembled together; as *Ignatius* advised *Polycarp* the Bishop of this Church, <sup>b</sup> To convene his Diocese to chuse a faithful honest Man to send a Messenger into Syria: <sup>c</sup> So that the Bishop of this Church <sup>d</sup> 'Εξ ὀνόματος πάντας ζῆται. <sup>e</sup> could know his whole Flock *Ibidem*, p. 13.

οὐτε βαπτίζειν, οὐτε ἀγάπην ποιεῖν, ἀλλ' ὃ ἂν ἔκεινος δοκιμάσῃ. *Epist. ad Smirn.* p. 6.

<sup>a</sup> Πυκνώτερον συναγωγαὶ γινέσθωσαν. *Epist. ad Polycarp.* p. 13.

<sup>b</sup> Περπεῖ συμβούλιον ἀγαγεῖν χειροτονῆσαι τινὰ, &c. *Ibidem*, p. 15.

<sup>c</sup> To make the Diocese of *Smyrna* appear a mere Congregational Church, our Enquirer adds a short clause or two, omitted before, viz. that *the Bishop of that Church could know his whole flock personally by their names*. So he translates the place; though St. *Ignatius*'s words are only a piece of advice to St. *Polycarp*, to do what the primitive Bishops always did, that is, to keep the name of every member of his Church enrolled in what the ancients called the *Matricula* of their Church. He had just before besought St. *Polycarp* not to neglect the widows of the Church; and immediately after, desires him not to overlook so much as the men-servants and maid-servants in it: and in the midst of this, (as a means so to know the quality, number, and condition of his Diocese,) he advises him to enquire out all by name, that is, to get such a register of their names, that, on occasion of any object of charity proposed to him, of any complaint or application made to him about any within his cure or jurisdiction; or in case of apostacy, or perseverance in time of persecution, or the like, by means of this general *Matricula*, he (as the other Bishops did) might more directly know how the case stood with them. Such was the occasion of St. *Ignatius*'s words: to infer from them that there was but one single Congregation then under a Bishop's Cure, and that he must personally know them all by name, as one neighbour knows another, is much the same thing, as to infer that *Augustus Cæsar* had but one town under his command,

<sup>5</sup> Δούλους καὶ δούλας μὲν ὑπερηφάνει. *Epist. ad Polycarp.* p. 12.

all meekness and humility towards

<sup>6</sup> Χῆραι μὴ ἀμελεῖσθωσαν. *Ibidem,* p. 13.

<sup>7</sup> Μηδὲν ἄγεν γνάμην σου γινέσθω. *Ibidem,* p. 12.

<sup>8</sup> Πρέπει δε τοῖς γαμοῦσι καὶ ταῖς γαμουμεναις μέτα γνώμης τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τὴν ἔνωσιν ποιεῖσθαι. *Ibidem,* p. 13.

Bishoprick could meet together in one Place, how the Bishop could personally know all the Members thereof by their

<sup>1</sup> In such a case, it was the censor's office to take an account of the people, their property, &c. Censores populi ævitates, soboles, familias, pecuniasque censento. *Cic. de leg. 1. 3. fol.*

personally by their Names, carrying himself respectfully and charitably to all <sup>5</sup> with all meekness and humility towards Serving-men, and Serving-maids, and charitably, <sup>6</sup> taking care of the Widows within his Diocese, permitting <sup>7</sup> nothing to be done there without his Privity. <sup>8</sup> Insomuch <sup>8</sup> that none were married without his previous advice and consent. Now, how all these things could be done, how all this

and could know all his subjects, because, for political reasons, he caused them all to be enrolled, and an estimate to be given in of their ages, children, families and estates.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Smyrna (says our Enquirer,) could not have had more than one congregation in it, because (as St. *Ignatius* tells us again,) it was not fitting that any should marry there without the Bishop's CONSENT.

I confess, it seems to me by no means impossible for the same thing to be done in the city of *London*, or *York*, at this day, if either Banns or Licenses were managed with proper care. Nay, even as matters now stand, I think it may be said, that either the Bishop in person, or such as are commissioned by him, (which is much the same thing,) have a necessary cognizance of all such solemn contracts, before the consummation of them, in the largest Dioceses amongst us. And this gives opportunity, at least, to consent, or disallow of them, without reducing their Dioceses to fewer Congregations than they have always had.

respective Names, even the meanest Serving-maids therein, and permit none to be Married without his Knowledge and Advice, without reducing this Diocess to a single Parish, I know not.

§. 4. As for the Diocess of *Ephesus*, there was but one Altar or Communion Table in its whole Territory, at which they all communicated together; whence they are said,

<sup>1</sup> *To break the one Bread*; and <sup>2</sup> *he that was without or separated from that Altar* is said to want the Bread of

*God*. The Members also of this Church could all meet together in one place, to send up their joint Prayers to God, in Christ: And therefore *Ignatius* condemns all those of that Diocess <sup>3</sup> *who did not assemble together in that one place, with the rest of the Members thereof, to send up their*

*Prayers to God, as proud, self-conceited, and justly condemnable*; because thereby they deprived themselves of that unconceivable Benefit, that would accrue unto them by joyning in the Prayers of the whole Church. <sup>4</sup> *For if the Prayer of one or two hath so great a force with God, how much more prevalent must the Prayer of the Bishop and the whole Church be?* So that if to communicate together, and to pray together, be the Marks of a Particular Church, then this Bishoprick was one.

§. 5. <sup>f</sup> As for the Church of *Magnesia*, they all assembled

<sup>1</sup> "Ἐνα ἄρτον κλῶντας. *Epist. ad Ephes.* p. 20, 29.

<sup>2</sup> Ἐν μόνις οὐ ἐντοῦ τοῦ θυσιαστη-  
σίου, ὑστερεῖται τοῦ ἄρτου τοῦ  
Θεού. *Ibid. p. 20.*

<sup>3</sup> Ο οὖν μὴ ἐξχομένος ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸν  
οὔτος ηδὲ ὑπεξηφάνει καὶ ἐκατόν  
διεκρινεῖν. *Ibidem. p. 20.*

<sup>4</sup> Ἐ γαρ ἕνος καὶ δευτέρου προσευ-  
χὴ τοσαύτην ὕσχὺν ἔχει, πόσῳ μᾶλ-  
λον ἡτε τοῦ ἐπισκόπου καὶ πάσοις  
ἐκκλησίασ. *Epist. ad Ephes. p. 20.*

<sup>f</sup> St. *Ignatius*, in his zeal for the unity of Christians in the Diocess of *Magnesia*, bids <sup>8</sup> *them* <sup>8</sup> Πάντες, ως εἰς ναὸν συντρέχετε

<sup>5</sup> Ἐις ναὸν θεοῦ. *Epist. ad Magnes.* p. 34.

<sup>6</sup> Ἐν Συσιαστήγον. *Ibid* p. 34.

<sup>7</sup> Ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸν μὰ προσευχὴν. *Ibidem*, p. 33.

<sup>8</sup> Οὐκ εὐσυνεδεῖτοι διὰ τὸ μὴ βεβαίως κατ' ἐντολὴν συναθροίσθαι. *Ibidem*, p. 32.

large such a Church is, where there is but one Meeting-place, and one Altar, where all communicate and pray together, is no hard matter to determine.

§. 6. Touching the Bishoprick of *Philadelphia*, its Extent may be guessed at by this, that the Members thereof

<sup>1</sup> Ὅσοι γαρ Θεοῦ εἰσὶν μὲτα τοῦ ἐπισκόπου εἰσὶν. *Epist. ad Philadelphia.* p. 40.

<sup>2</sup> Ὅπου δε ὁ ποιμὴν ἔστιν, ἔκει ὡς πρόδρατα ἀκολουθεῖτε. *Ibidem* p. 40.

with the Bishop, having but <sup>5</sup> one *Church*, and <sup>6</sup> one *Altar*, <sup>7</sup> joyning all together in one *Prayer*, because <sup>8</sup> to have congregated elsewhere would have been against *Conscience* and *Precept*.

Now how

<sup>1</sup> could do nothing without the Bishop, <sup>2</sup> who being their Shepherd, where-ever he was, they were to follow him like

Θεοῦ, ὡς ἐπὶ ἐν Συσιαστήγον—&c.

*Ignat. Epist. ad Mag.* p. 34.

old Latin Translation has it, and the learned Editor of the Florentine MSS. says it should be,) and as to the one Altar; plainly exhorting them, (by way of similitude,) to Christian unity and communion, after the pattern of the Ancient Church of God among the Jews; who, though they had never so many synagogues, yet were all united in that one Temple, and one Altar, which God had fixed for them at *Jerusalem*. That this comparative way of arguing might be the less perceived, our careful Enquirer takes no notice of the little particle [*ὡς* or *as*] but quotes the Temple of God, in the singular number, by itself, as quite to his purpose, and gives it the name of a Christian *Church*: though (besides this omission,) it may justly be questioned, whether St. *Ignatius* or any contemporary writer, ever used that word [*ναὸς*] for a place of Christian *worship* at all, it being generally a term in Primitive writers, applied to Jewish or Heathen Temples.

all run one way together, as to the Temple of God, (or as to the one Temple of God, as the

*Sheep, 3 receiving the Sacra-  
ment all together from him,  
4 at that one Altar belonging*

*to their Diocess; which they*

might well enough do, since their Multitudes were not so great, but that on other Occasions they could meet all together, as <sup>5</sup> to chuse a *Messenger to send to the Church at Antioch in Syria.*

<sup>3</sup> Μιᾶ εὐχαριστία, χεῖσθαι—ἐν ποτησιον. *Epistp ad Philadelph.* p. 40.

<sup>4</sup> Ἐν θυσιαστήριον. *Ibid.* p. 41.

<sup>5</sup> Χειροτονησάς διάκονον εἰς τὸ πρεσ-  
βεύταλ ἐκεῖ Θεον πρεσβείαν. *Ibidem*  
p. 45.

§. 7. As for the Diocess of *Trallium*, that could be no larger than the former ones, since it had but one Altar in it, which was correlate to its one Bishop; so that to separate from the Altar, was the same as to separate from the Bishop; whence *Ignatius* says, that <sup>6</sup> *He that is within the Altar is pure*, that is, *He that doth any thing without the Bishop, Priests and Deacons, is impure.*

<sup>6</sup> Ο ἐντὸς θυσιαστηρίου ἄν, καθαρὸς  
ἐστιν, δ χωρὶς ἐπισκόπου καὶ διάκονου  
πράσσων τι οὗτος οὐ καθαρὸς ἐστιν  
τη συνειδήσει. *Epist. ad Tralles.*  
p. 50.

Now let any impartial Man judge, whether all these Descriptions of those Ancient Diocesses do not forcibly constrain us to reduce them to the Rate of our modern Parishes. And if these were no greater, especially *Ephesus*, at which Place *St. Paul* preached Three Years, we have no reason to imagine that other Bishopricks where the Apostles never were, or at least never preached so long, surmounted their Bulk and Largeness.

How long it was before these Diocesses swelled into several Congregations, is not my Business to determine, since it happened not within my prescribed time; except in the Church of *Alexandria*; the Reason and Manner whereof shall be shewn in a few Leaves more, after that I have more fully evidenced this Point, by demonstrating, that the greatest Bishopricks in the World, even in the Third Century, were no more than so many single Congregations: And if

this can be proved, it is the solidest Demonstration that can be given: For the larger a Church was, and the more time it had to settle and increase its self, the greater Reason have we to expect that it should exceed all others in Numbers and Diffusiveness.

<sup>s</sup> Now the four greatest Diocesses, that in those days were in the World, are *Antioch, Rome, Carthage, Alexandria*. The three former of which, during the whole three hundred Years after Christ, never branched themselves into several particular Congregations, though the latter did, as shall be hereafter shewn.

§. 8. <sup>b</sup> As for the Diocess of *Antioch*, its Members were not so many, but that 265 Years after Christ, they were

<sup>s</sup> The Churches St. *Ignatius* wrote to, were all eminent cities of the *Lydian* or Proconsular *Asia*; most of them the seats of public justice for the Province where the *Roman* Governour resided: and (what is more,) were dignified with a singular visitation by our blessed Lord in his great Revelation to St. *John*. They are therefore scarcely to be imagined such inconsiderable Churches, as our learned Enquirer tries to represent them. For fuller satisfaction, however, in the case, he frankly appeals to *Antioch, Rome, Carthage, and Alexandria*, (the undoubted metropolitan cities of the empire,) to bear witness to the certainty of his congregational scheme. We cannot therefore do less than briefly notice them all.

<sup>b</sup> *Antioch* was early blessed with the glad tidings of the Gospel. Many Christians *that were scattered abroad upon the persecution that arose about Stephen* resorted thither; and the first account we have of their labours is, that *the hand of the Lord was with them, and a great number believed and turned unto the Lord* (Acts xi. 19, 21—27). Tidings of this came to the Church at *Jerusalem* who *send Barnabas, a good man, and full of the Holy Ghost, and of faith*, to improve this happy opportunity. The success answered their expectation: by his powerful exhortations *much people* (says the Scripture,) *was added to the Lord*. To for-

able to meet all in one place ; of which we have this memorable Instance, that when <sup>1</sup> *Paulus Samosatenus* the Heretical ward this work of the Lord still more, *Barnabas* travels to *Tarsus*, and joins *Saul*, the great Apostle of the Gentiles ; both of whom, returning to *Antioch*, *continue a whole year together* in that populous city, *teaching much people*. How many converts were made in that space of time by the instrumentality of those Apostolical labourers, assisted by all that fled thither from *Jerusalem*, by the men of *Cyprus* and *Cyrene* ; and by the several inspired Prophets amongst them (Acts xi. 27 ; xiii. 1.) ; I refer to the judgment of all, who know the fruits of many single sermons preached by an Apostle, at the first promulgation of the Gospel. Two things are certain,

1st. That the reputation of the converts at *Antioch* was such, that they laid aside the derided name of *Nazarenes* or *Galileans*, and were first called *Christians* there. (Acts xi. 26.)

2dly. That there were two distinct sects or parties of them : (Acts xv. 1, 2.) ; *Judaizing* Christians zealous of the law ; and *Gentile* Converts, as earnestly insisting on their exemption from it ; each party so considerable as to call for an Apostolical council to decide the controversy between them.

Such was the infant state of this Church of *Antioch* ; the oversight whereof, antiquity tells us, St. *Peter*, in a peculiar manner, took upon himself ; and for six or seven years at least, made it his first and special apostolic see. After him, (before the heretic *Paulus of Samosata* was promoted to that see,) we read in Church-History of fourteen Bishops there in succession :— among whom were those mirrors of learning, piety, and zeal, *Ignatius*, *Theophilus*, and *Babylas*. But notwithstanding the united labours of so many Apostles, Prophets, holy Martyrs, and Confessors, to plant and improve a Christian Church in this [Θείολις, or] *city of God*, as the converts thought fit to call it ; it is maintained by our Enquirer, that there were never more believers in it for 270 years after Christ, than what could meet together in one single house of prayer.

<sup>1 8</sup> The city of *Antioch* accord- <sup>8</sup> See Dr. *Cave in the life of*  
ing to St. *Chrysostom's* cal- *Ignatius*, p. 101.

Bishop thereof, was deprived by a Synod held in that Place, and *Domnus* substituted in his room, *he refused to resign*

<sup>1</sup> *Tanta hominum multitudo, pars pæne major cujusque civitatis. Ad. Scap. 2. p. 86.* culation for St. *Ignatius's* time, contained no less than 200,000 souls in it ; and <sup>1</sup> *Tertullian* (as we have seen before) durst tell the persecuting *Scapula*, that the Christians then *were well nigh the greater part of every city*. Yet all that is advanced to the contrary, is only this, viz. that *Paulus* of *Samosata*, the heretical Bishop of *Antioch*, after the middle of the third century, *refused to resign the Church's house*, when he was synodically deposed by a council held there ; and *this Church's house* (as our learned Author maintains) must needs have been the only house of prayer or public worship for all that Diocese : the people whereof could consequently have made but one Congregation.

I think the Synod of *Antioch's* account of *Paulus Samosatenus*, from whence this very objection is taken, clearly proves to us, that he had more Churches under him, than that *house of the Church*, of which he kept possession ; (even supposing it to have been a house of worship ; which after all is very questionable;) because, amongst the many charges brought against him, it was

<sup>2</sup> *Πρεσβυτέρους ἐν ταῖς πρὸς τὸν λαὸν ὄμιλοις, καθιστε διαλέγεσθαι.* said, that *he sent Presbyters out to preach up his own praises in their sermons to the people.*

Euseb. 1. 7. c. 30. p. 229.

Who should these be, but Presbyters, that officiated under him within his own jurisdiction ? for the phrase imports no entreaty, (as if it were to aliens not subject to him,) but rather an act of authority ; for *he sent them out to do so*. Nay, should they have been Presbyters of another see, they are at least, an instance of religious assemblies held by such, in contradistinction to the Bishops to whom they belonged : which overthrows the Enquirer's congregational scheme, take it in what sense we please.

As to what is further said in this place, viz. that he sent out *Bishops of adjacent villages and cities* to do the same thing for him, I shall only observe here, that the judicious *Valesius* understands those Bishops to have been no others than flattering

*the Churches House*,<sup>1</sup> till the Emperor *Aurelian* forced him to resign <sup>2</sup> *that House*: So that for above 250 Years after

<sup>1</sup> Μηδαμῶς ἐκστῆναι τοῦ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὄικου. *Apud. Euseb. Lib. 7. Cap. 30.* p. 282.  
<sup>2</sup> Τὸν ὄικον. *Ibidem.*

Christ, the whole Bishoprick of *Antioch* had but one Church to serve God in.

§. 9. <sup>3</sup> How large the Diocese of *Rome* was, may be conjectured by that,

1. All the People thereof could meet together to perform Divine Service, as appears by that History of a certain Con-

*Chorepiscopi*: which still makes them a part of his own Diocese. But this does not alter the present case. See Appendix, No. 6.

<sup>4</sup> The Diocese of *Rome* is next appealed to, and allowed no greater honours than the rest. The faith of the Christian converts thereof was early spoken of throughout the world; their Church was founded by the two great Apostles, both of *Jews* and *Gentiles*, and martyrs and confessors were zealous pastors over them for many generations: yet, for above 200 years after Christ, (according to our learned Enquirer,) they amounted to no more than a single Congregation.

It appears by the history that <sup>5</sup> *Natalis*, (a penitent confessor in that Church,) returning from the heresy of *Theodotus*, went early to the place, where the Bishop paid his devotions, fell down before the Bishop, Clergy, and people there; and with prayers and tears besought the merciful Church of Christ to admit him to communion again, &c. Now our Enquirer infers, that this could not have been done in this particular manner, unless the whole Diocese, under the Bishop *Zephyrinus*'s jurisdiction, had then been with him, and consequently made but one Congregation. If we argue thus, we might as well affirm that Christ

<sup>3</sup> Μετὰ πολλῆς σπουδῆς καὶ δακρύων προσπεσεῖν Ζεφυρίνῳ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, κυλίμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ πόδας οὐ μονον τῶν ἐγ τῷ κλήρῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ των λαϊκῶν, συγχέσι τε τοῖς δάκρυσις τὴν εὐσπλαγχγον Ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ ἐλεήμονος Χριστοῦ πολλῇ τε τῇ δεήσει χρησαμένον—μόλις κοινωνήσῃ. *Euseb. l. 5. c. 28. p. 160. Edit. Paris. 1678.*



fessor called *Natalis*, who returning from the *Theodosian Heresy*, put himself into the Habit of a Penitent, threw himself at the Feet of the Clergy and Laity, as they went

<sup>1</sup> Προσπεσεῖν τῷ ἐπιτυχόπῳ, κλήσῳ, λαικῶν, τὴν ἐνσπλαγχνον ἐκκλησίαν τῇ δεήσει χρησάμενον. *Apud Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 28. p. 197.*

into their publick Meeting-place, and so bewailed his Fault, <sup>1</sup> that at length the Church was touched with Compassion towards him.

2. In this Diocese there was but one Church or Meeting-place; for when Bishop *Anterus* died, <sup>2</sup> *All the Brethren met together in the Church, to*

had no part of a Church in the world but what was there; for it was the merciful Church of the merciful Christ that he begged to be admitted into, and which he moved with his tears. If that particular assembly was in unity with the one only Church of Christ upon earth, then it was as much so, when several other Congregations belonged to it, as though it had been the only one that the whole Diocese contained.

To make the matter plainer; suppose such a case, as *Natalis's*, to happen in any Christian Church at this day; if the Bishop should be found at his devotions with any of his Clergy about him, and if a penitent suppliant should kneel before them all, and in a full congregation of the people, ask the pardon of the Church; might not an *English* Historian say, that this humble penitent fell down at the feet of the Bishop, Clergy, and people; and that, when the Bishop had considerably more of both kinds within his Diocese and jurisdiction, than were personally present at this particular solemnity?

<sup>4</sup> See also Obs. 6, of this Section.

<sup>1</sup> Here we are <sup>4</sup> twice told that all the brethren met together in the Church to choose

a Bishop, when the See was vacant: which I have expressly shown to be affirmed of elections in the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries: when, as we all know, the Dioceses had a plurality of Congregations in each of them. Two other reasons are given, viz., that all

chuse a Successor ; which Distinction or Nomination of Place, *viz.* That they met in the Church, denotes that they had all but one Church ; for if they had had more Churches than one, the Historian would have left us in the Dark, as to what Church they met in, whether in St. James's, St. John's, or St. Peter's.

3. In this Bishoprick also they had but one Altar or Communion-Table, as appears from a passage of *met to concur in sending salutations and letters to other Churches ; and to hear such read.* And lastly, that *the Church of Rome had so peculiarly but one altar, that the second, which Novatian erected was called a profane altar.* These reasons have been considered before ; it is therefore unnecessary to consider them again in this place.

I would merely observe, that the Church of *Rome* is far better represented to us by *Cornelius* (the truly apostolical Bishop of it) in the third century. He tells us, that there were then no less than 46 Presbyters in it ; if we compare this account with *the number of assemblies in each city, the erecting of new and larger churches in them all*, mentioned by *Eusebius* (*Eccl. Hist. I. 8. c. 1.*) and fairly implying that they had *old and smaller ones even before them* ; we shall see what kind of services those numerous Presbyters were engaged in. No doubt they ministered in many of those particular oratories, of which they were then possessed ; for *Cornelius* farther says, that besides those 46 Presbyters, they had 7 Deacons, 7 Sub-Deacons ; 42 Acolyths ; Exorcists, Readers, and Doorkeepers 52 ; (*all necessary to the service of the Church*) besides widows, impotent, and poor above 1500, living on the alms of the Church ; and answerable to all this, *a vast innumerable multitude of people in it.* See Appendix, No. 7.

§ Πρεσβυτέρους τεσσαράκοντα ἔξι,  
διακόνους ἑπτὰ, ὑποδιακόνους ἑπτὰ,  
ἀκολύθους δύο καὶ τεσσαράκοντα,  
ἐξορκιστὰς δὲ καὶ ἀναγνώστας ἄμφα  
πυλωροῖς δύο καὶ πεντήκοντα. Χη-  
ρας σὺν θλιβομένοις ἐπέξ τὰς χλιδιας  
πεντακοσίας, οὓς πάντας ἢ τοῦ δεσ-  
πότου χάρις καὶ φιλανθρωπία δία-  
τρέψει· τοσοῦτο πλῆθος καὶ ἀναγ-  
κήσιον ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ πληθύνων  
ἀριθμὸς κατα μεγίστου καὶ ἀναριθ-  
μίτου λαοῦ. Euseb. Hist. Eccl.  
I. 6. c. 43.

*Cyprian*, who describes the Schism of *Novatian* a Presbyter of this Church, by <sup>3</sup> his erecting a Prophane Altar, in Opposition to the Altar of *Cornelius* his lawful Bishop.

<sup>3</sup> Profanum altare erigere. *Ep. 67. §. 2. p. 198.*

4. The whole Diocese could concur together in Salutations and Letters to other Churches. Thus concludes a Letter of the Clergy of *Rome* to the Clergy of *Carthage*,

<sup>4</sup> Salutant vos fratres, qui sunt in vinculis, et Presbyteri, tota Ecclesia. *Apud Cyprian. Epist. 3. §. 3. p. 12.*

<sup>4</sup> The Brethren which are in Bonds salute you, and the Presbyters, and the whole Church.

5. Whatever Letters were <sup>5</sup> Sanctissimæ atque amplissimæ plebi, legere te semper literas nostras. *Cyprian. Epist. 55. §. 21. p. 144.*

writ to that Church, were read before them all, as it was the Custom of Bishop *Cornelius*, <sup>5</sup> to read all public-Letters to his most holy and most numerous flock.

Lastly, the People of this Diocess met all together to chuse a Bishop, when the See was vacant. So upon the

<sup>6</sup> Τῶν γαρ ἀδελφῶν ἀπάντων ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας συγκεκριμένων, τὸν πάντα λαὸν. *Apud Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 28. p. 229.*

Death of *Anterus*, <sup>6</sup> All the Brethren met together in the Church to chuse a Successor, where all the People unanimously chose *Fabianus*. And

so after the Death of *Fabianus*, *Cornelius* was chosen Bishop

<sup>7</sup> Cleri ac Plebis Suffragio. *Cyprian Epist. 67. §. 2. p. 198.*

of that Diocess <sup>7</sup> by the Suffrage of the Clergy and People.

Now whether all these Things put together, whether their having but one Communion-Table in their whole Diocese, as also but one Church, where they all usually met, do not unavoidably reduce this Bishoprick to the Circumference of a modern Parish, I leave every Man to judge.

§. 10. The next Diocese to be considered is *Carthage*, which next to *Rome* and *Alexandria*, was the greatest City in the World, and probably had as many Christians in it, as either, especially if that is true, which *Tertullian* insinuates, that the tenth Part thereof was Christian ; for he remonstrates to *Scapula* the Persecuting President of that City, that <sup>8</sup>if he should destroy the Christians of Carthage he must root out the Tenth Part thereof. But yet how

<sup>8</sup> Quid ipsa Carthago passuram, decimanda a te. *Ad Scapulam*, p. 450.

many soever the Christians of that Bishoprick were, even some Years after *Tertullian's* Days, they were no more in number, than there are now in our Parishes, as is evident from scores of Passages in the Writings of *Cyprian* Bishop of that Church. For,

1. <sup>m</sup>The Bishop of that Diocese <sup>9</sup>could know every one therein.

<sup>9</sup> Ut omnes optime nossem. *Cyprian. Epist.* 38. §. 1. p. 90.

<sup>m</sup> *Tertullian* did indeed magnify his native city, and well nigh defied the persecuting governors with glorying in the numerous multitudes of believers there. But after all, (according to our Author,) “ the Christians of that Bishopric were *no more in number than they are now in our parishes.*” This sounds somewhat strange ; especially to those who know what a glorious figure the Church of Carthage made, and what a mighty influence it had in the affairs of the Christian world, in the *Cyprianic age* ; but let us hear the evidence.

St. *Cyprian*, it appears, being now in banishment, writes to two *African* Bishops (*Caldonius* and *Herculanus*,) and with them to *Rogatian* and *Numidicus*, (two of his own Presbyters,) <sup>6</sup>enjoining them to relieve the necessities of the poor, out of the contributions of the brethren : and if any of these, working at their

<sup>6</sup> Cumque ego vos pro me vicarios miserim, ut expungeretis necessitates fratrum nostrorum sumptibus, si qui etiam vellent suas artes exercere, additamen-

2. The Bishop of that Diocese was the common Curator of all the Poor therein, relieving the Poor and Indigent, paying off their Debts, and aiding the necessitous Tradesmen with Money to set up their Trades. As *Cyprian* when he was in his exil'd State, sent *Caldonius, Hervulanus, Rogatianus*, and *Numidicus* to his Church at *Carthage*, <sup>1</sup> to pay off the Debts of the indebted Members thereof, and to help those poor Mechanicks with a convenient Sum of Money, who were willing to set up their Trades.

<sup>1</sup> Ut expungeretis necessitates fratrum nostrorum sumptibus, si qui etiam vellent suas artes exercere, additamento quantum satis esset, desideria eorum juvaretis. *Idem Ibidem.*

to, quantum satis esset, desideria eoram juvaretis ; simul etiam et ætates eorum, et conditiones, et merita discerneretis ; ut jam nunc Ego, cui cura incumbit, *omnes optime nossem*, et dignos quoque et humiles et mites ad Ecclesiasticæ administrationis officia promoverem. *Cypr. Epist. 38. §. 1.* vel in Oxon. Edit. Ep. 41.

all, and if any of them be humble, I may put them into some office of the Church. I appeal to the words, context, and learned annotations upon the place, whether this be not the genuine sense of it ; wherein, these two things are evident :

1st. That the *all* here spoken of, were only the list, or *Matricula*, of the necessitous and poor people in the Diocese. 2dly. That St. *Cyprian* had so little personal knowledge of them and their condition, that he employed the Bishops and Presbyters to whom he wrote, to send him the best information they could get of that matter. This is adduced as a proof, that the *Bishop of that Diocese could know every one in it* ; which I think, is as clear a proof of the *contrary*, as one could expect to meet with.

own Trades, should still be unable to provide fully for their families, they were to be allowed something towards it. He directs them, in doing this, to inform themselves carefully of the different ages, conditions, and merits of the men ; to the end that *I myself*, (as he says,) upon whom this care lies, *may forthwith thoroughly know them meek, and worthy of it, I may put them into some office of the Church.* I appeal to the words, context, and learned annotations upon the place, whether this be not the genuine sense of it ; wherein, these two things are evident :

If <sup>n</sup> *Cyprian's* Diocess had consisted of Scores of Parishes, how many Thousand Pounds must he have expended, to have paid off the Debts of all the insolvent Persons therein, and to have assisted every poor Trader with a sufficient Stock to carry on his Employment?

3. ° All the Diocess was present, when the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was administered. So saith *Cyprian*, <sup>2</sup> *Sacramenti veritatem Fraternistred. nitate omni præsente celebra-*  
<sup>3</sup> *We celebrate the Sacrament, mus. Epist. 63. §. 12. p. 177.*  
*the whole Brotherhood being present.*

4. ♦ When *Celerinus* was ordained Lector or Clerk by

<sup>n</sup> By placing a wrong stop in the construction of the passage, wherein St. Cyprian directs the Bishops and Presbyters to relieve all that wanted *out of the contributions of the brethren*, our Enquirer tries to prepossess his reader with the opinion, *that the debts and necessities of the brethren were defrayed at the single expense of the Bishop* :

<sup>1</sup> *Rigaltius's Note (approved by Bishop Fell,) upon the place, is this: cujus necessitas beneficentia fratrum sublevabatur, ejus et nomen expungebatur.*

and then breaks out into admiration at the many thousand pounds, he must needs have expended, if his Diocese had some scores of parishes in it! This is mere supposition. St. *Cyprian's* words import no more, than that he was common Almoner or Curator for the poor of his Diocese, and therefore gave orders to his agents in trust for him, to take what care they could in it.

° This is the very same argument that the Enquirer gave us before §. 2. Obs. 2. (which see); viz. that *the Bishop celebrated the sacrament, the whole Brotherhood being present*; the representation of that passage was there shewn to be unfair, and the inference drawn from it untrue.

¶ No doubt, *all the people could hear and see the Reader Celerinus, whenever, and wherever he read from the Pulpit*: but these general expressions, without regard to the meaning in which they are commonly received, admit of no limitations. If *all* the people heard him, it must not be understood of *all* that *were present*, but, of all the Diocese to a man. St. *Cyprian*, speaking of him again

<sup>3</sup> Plebi Universæ. *Epist. 34.* *Cyprian* he Read from the  
§. 4. p. 81. Pulpit, so that <sup>3</sup> *All the People* could see and hear him.

<sup>5.</sup> <sup>4</sup> In all Ordinations, all the People were consulted, and none were admitted into Holy Orders without their

<sup>8</sup> Lectoris fidem *quisquis audierit* imitetur. Cypr. Ep. 34. vel in Edit. Oxon, 39.

Reader in general, (at a time when every Church, having any Reader at all, had many Congregations in it,) expresses himself in much the same terms; and (as the Translator renders it, and *Suicer* observes from him) makes him read so, as that *every one heard him*. Besides, that there were several Readers in this Church of *Carthage*, is very certain. This *Celerinus* and *Aurelius* were two new ones just ordained by St. *Cyprian* in his exile, and added to them that served the Church in his absence. And

<sup>9</sup> Scio vos optare tales in Ecclesiâ nostra quamplurimos ordinari. Ep. 38. p. 75. Ed. Ox.

who condemned St. *Cyprian* himself, understood they had more places for religious assemblies

<sup>1</sup> Præcipiunt ne in aliquibus locis conciliabula fiant, nec Cœmeteria ingrediantur. *Cyp. Pass. ex Vet. Cod. MSS. in Pontii Vit. Cypr.*

margin show. See Appendix, No. 8.

about six lines below, says, <sup>8</sup> *whosoever hears him*, should imitate his faith: and *Balsamon*, describing the office of a

he tells them, <sup>9</sup> *he is sure that they would wish to have many more such*. It is also evident that the Proconsul *Paternus*, that the Emperors <sup>1</sup> *Valerian* and *Gallienus* commanded that there should be no *meetings in* any places, and that they should not enter into their Cemeteries, as the words in the

<sup>4</sup> Here we have the current arguments again, of *all the people being present, consulted, and approving ordinations, elections, Church-censures, Absolutions, &c.* So far as these arguments refer to a pretended right or jurisdiction of the people in the government of the Church, we shall find them pressed upon us again and again; and, under that consideration, I shall examine them

Approbation, as is assured by *Cyprian* Bishop of this Diocess, who tells us, that it was his constant Custom <sup>4</sup> in all Ordinations to consult his People, and with their common Counsel to weigh the Merits of every Candidate of the sacred Orders. And therefore when for extraordinary Merits he advanced one to the Degree of a Lector or Clerk, without first communicating it to his Diocess, he writes from his Exil'd State <sup>5</sup> to his whole Flock the Reason of it.

<sup>4</sup> In ordinationibus Clericis, fratres charissimi, solemus vos ante consulere, et mores ac merita singulorum communi consilio ponderate. *Epist. 33. ad Clerum et Plebem.* p. 76.

<sup>5</sup> Plebi Universæ. *Epist. 34. p. 80.*

6. When that See was vacant, all the People met together to chuse a Bishop. Whence *Pontius* says, that

farther as they lie in my way. Meanwhile, I shall leave the Church of *Carthage* with this authentic testimony, that small as she was in her flourishing times of peace and safety, in the *Decian* persecution the number of her *lapsed members only* was such,<sup>2</sup> that thousands of tickets were daily granted by the martyrs and confessors on their behalf, to procure their reconciliation to the Church; and many of those tickets, not for single persons, but for themselves and friends together;<sup>3</sup> for so their holy Bishop expressly tells the *Roman* Presbyters and Deacons, and reproved the over-forward martyrs and confessors themselves for it. What manner of single Congregation such a Church could make, before the fall of so vast a number of her members, and after their blessed union again, I leave to the decision of the reader.

<sup>2</sup> Sine ullo discriminè atque examine singulorum darentur quotidie libellorum millia. *Cyp Ep. 20. Edit. Oxon.*

<sup>3</sup> Quibusdam sic libellos fieri; ut dicatur, *communices cum suis* —et possunt nobis viceni, et triceni et amplius offerri, qui propinqui et affines, et liberti ac domestici esse asseverentur ejus qui accipit libellum. *Cypr. Ep. 15. Edit. Oxon. p. 35.*

<sup>6</sup> Plebis favore. *In vita Cypriani.*

<sup>7</sup> Populi universi Suffragio. *Epist. 55. §. 7. p. 139.*

<sup>8</sup> Vicarias vero pro nobis ego et Collegæ, et Fraternitas omnis has ad vos literas mittimus. *Apud Cyprian. Epist. 58. §. 2. p. 163.*

<sup>9</sup> Secundum vestra divina Suffragia conjurati. *Epist. 40. ad Plebem, §. 1. p. 92.*

his Exile, to the People of this his Diocess, about the Irregularities of two of his Subdeacons, and one of his Acolyths ; and about the Schism of *Felicissimus*, assures them, that as to the former, whenever it should

<sup>1</sup> Et cum plebe ipsâ universâ. *Epist. 28. §. 2. p. 64.*

*leagues, and his whole Flock.*

<sup>2</sup> Secundum arbitrium quoque vestrum, et omnium nostrum commune Consilium. *Epist. 40. ad Plebem, §. 7. p. 94.*

9. At the Absolution of Penitents, all the People were present, who examined the Reality of the Offenders Repentance ; and if well satisfied of it, consented, that they should be admitted to the Churches Peace. Therefore when some Presbyters in a time of Persecution, had with too great Rash-

*Cyprian* was elected Bishop of this Diocese <sup>6</sup> by the favour of the people. And *Cyprian* himself acknowledges, that he was chosen by <sup>7</sup> the Suffrage of all his People.

7. All the People of this Diocess could meet together to send Letters to other Churches ; an instance whereof we have in that gratulatory Letter still extant in *Cyprian*, which they <sup>8</sup> all sent to *Lucius*, Bishop of Rome, on his Return from Exile.

8. All the People were present at Church-Censures, and concurred at the <sup>9</sup> Excommunication of Offenders. Thus *Cyprian* writing from his Diocess, in Peace, <sup>1</sup> it should be determined by him and his Colleagues, and his whole Flock. And as to the latter, that then likewise that should be transacted <sup>2</sup> according to the Arbitrament of the People, and the common counsel of them all.

ness and Precipitancy assailed some of those, that through the violence of the Persecution had succumbed, *Cyprian* writes them from his Exile an Objurgatory Letter, commanding them to admit no more, till Peace should be restored to the Church, when those Offenders *should plead their cause before all the People*. And touching the same Matter he writes in another place to all the People of his Diocess, that when it should please the Church, then all those Matters <sup>4</sup> *should be examined in their presence, and be judged by them.*

Lastly, Nothing was done in this Diocess without the Consent of the People. So resolved Bishop *Cyprian* <sup>5</sup> *from the first time I was made Bishop*, said he, *I determined to do nothing without the consent of my People*. And accordingly when he was exil'd from his Flock, he writ to the Clergy and Laity thereof, that when it should please God to return him unto them, <sup>6</sup> *all Affairs, as their mutual Honour did require, should be debated in common by them.*

Now whether all these Observations do not evidently reduce the Diocess of *Carthage* to the same Bulk with our Parishes, I leave to every one to determine: For my part, I must needs profess, that I cannot imagine, how all the People thereof could receive the Sacrament together, assist at the Excommunication and Absolution of Offenders, assemble together to elect their Bishop, and do the rest of those forementioned Particulars, without confining this Bishoprick within the limits of a particular Congregation.

<sup>3</sup> Acturi apud Plebem universam causam suam. *Epist. 10. §. 4. p. 30.*

God to restore Peace to the

<sup>4</sup> Examinabuntur singula præsentibus et judicantibus vobis. *Epist. 12. ad Plebem, §. 1. p. 37.*

<sup>5</sup> A primordio episcopatūs mei statuerim nihil sine consensu Plebis meæ privatâ sententiâ gerere. *Epist. 6. §. 5. p. 17.*

<sup>6</sup> De iis quæ vel gesta sunt, vel gerenda, sicut honor mutuus poscit, in commune tractabimus. *Epist. 6. §. 5. p. 17.*

§. 11. As for the Diocese of *Alexandria*, though the Numbers of the Christians therein were not so many, but

The main point for which our Enquirer has contended, is this, that every primitive Diocese for 300 years together consisted only of a single Congregation. The force of truth now constrains him to confess, that the Christians of *Alexandria*, *within the third century, divided themselves into several distinct and separate Congregations, and all subjected to one Bishop*; for this, says he, is clearly enough asserted by *Dionysius*, who mentions the distinct Congregations in the *extremest suburbs of the city*. To make this hard testimony a little more pliant to his purpose, he gives us this comment upon it, viz. that these Congregations were only a *Chapel of Ease* within the *suburbs of Alexandria*, for the convenience of some members, who lived too far off to come to their *one* usual meeting-house, so often as they held assemblies there; and therefore it was concerted between the Bishop and his people, that they should *erect this Chapel, or these Chapels for themselves; and upon solemn occasions should all meet in the one Mother-Church, and so continue but one Congregational Church still.*

In this comment, I must say, we have an instance of what zeal will sometimes do for a weak cause.

1st. This single Chapel, or these distinct Congregations, (for they are named in both capacities,) are positively said to be with-

<sup>4</sup> Ως ἐν προστείοις πορφωτεξω κειμενοῖς κατα μέρος συναγωγαῖ. *Euseb. Ib.*

in the *extremest suburbs of the city of Alexandria*; though *Dionysius* himself says only, <sup>4</sup> *as it were within such suburbs*. Our

wary Author leaves out [*as, or as it were*] to some purpose: for a Chapel within the suburbs would suit pretty well with an *English* parish, whereas more Congregations, a little farther off, would not.

2dly. All this matter must be represented as a singular case, concerted between the Bishop and his people; that they should not only erect this chapel or chapels for their own ease, but engage themselves upon solemn occasions to assemble with him in one and the same Church, and so be a mere Congregational Diocese still. For all this, there is no warrant or authority in *Dionysius's* own narrative, but enough to show a very different case.

that in the middle of the Fourth Century they could all, or at least most of them, meet together in one place, as I might

It must be borne in mind, that the place where these distinct Congregations were held, was in and about *Colluthio*, in the region of *Mareotis*; which was a different *Nomos*, or district of *Egypt*, from that of *Alexandria*, both in the *Macedonian* and *Roman* division of it.<sup>5</sup> The holy Bishop <sup>5</sup> See Appendix, No. 9, of *Alexandria*, was, at this time, confined, as a banished man, in this very place; where (as he tells us)<sup>6</sup> Christians never had resided before, till his name and sufferings had brought these several Congregations of them into the

<sup>6</sup> Ἐργμον μὲν ἀδελφῶν τὸ χωρίον ταῖς δὲ των ὁδοιπορούντων ἐνοχλήσει καὶ ληστῶν καταδρομαῖς ἐγκείμενον — ἡ χθέσθη καὶ λίαν ἐχαλέπηνα. Euseb. ib. lib. 7. cap. 11.

country round about; it being a place infested with vagrants and robbers, and whither he was much distressed to hear that he must go. Judge then what a kind of suburb this must be to his own city of *Alexandria*; I mean, in our modern and *English* notion of a *Suburb*, for whose sake this comment is made. In the ancient acceptation of the word,<sup>7</sup> suburbs comprehended large adjacent countries, whose towns and villages were the peculiar

<sup>7</sup> See Valesius's *Annot. on these Words*, Κατὰ μέρος συναγωγαῖ. In Euseb. ib.

cures of Presbyters under the Bishop of the Diocese wherein they lay;—but such a primitive construction would give his citizens *Chapel of Ease* a most unwarrantable situation. It is evident that *Dionysius* himself did not take the place here mentioned for a suburb of this city; had it actually been there, he never would have said, *as it were in remote suburbs*. Nor is it less evident, that some fair symptoms of a modern Episcopal Church appeared in this primitive one of *Alexandria*; and no wonder it should be so, since the Evangelist St. *Mark* had converted and settled many Congregations of Christians in the very city itself. This we learn from<sup>8</sup> *Eusebius*, who calls them *Churches*, (in the plural number,) without any

<sup>8</sup> Ἐκκλησίας ἐπ' αὐτῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας συστήσασθαι. Euseb. Hist. Ec. l. 2. c. 16.

cautious distinction of *Chapels of Ease*, or any thing in name or

<sup>1</sup> *Apolog.* ad. Constant.

yond my prescribed time ; yet in the third Century they had divided themselves into several distinct and separate Congregations, which were all subjected to one Bishop, as is clearly enough asserted by *Dionysius*, Bishop of this Church, who

<sup>1</sup> 'Εν προαστείοις πορρωτέρω κειμέ-

νατα μέσος ἔσονται συναγωγαί.

*Advers. Germanum apud Euseb.*

*lib. 7. cap. 11. p. 260.*

evince from the writings of

<sup>1</sup> *Athanasius*, were it not be-

cause the *distinct Congregations*

in the *extremest Suburbs of the City*.

The

Reason whereof seems to be

this ; Those Members of this Bishoprick, who lived in the remotest parts of it, finding it incommodious and troublesome every Lord's Day, *Saturday*, *Wednesday*, and *Friday*, (on which days they always assembled) to go to their one usual Meeting-place, which was very far from their own Homes ; and withal being unwilling to divide themselves from their old Church and Bishop, lest they should seem guilty of the detestable Sin of Schism, which consisted in a Causeless Separation from their Bishop and Parish-Church, as shall be hereafter shewn ; desired their proper Bishop, to give them leave for Conveniency sake, to Erect near their own Habitacions a Chappel of Ease, which should be a Daughter-Church to the Bishops, under his Jurisdiction, and guided by a Presbyter of his Commission and Appointment, whereat they would usually meet, tho' on some Solemn Occasions they would still all assemble in one Church with their one Bishop.

That for this Reason these separate Congregations were introduced at *Alexandria*, seems evident enough ; because *Dionysius Alexandrinus* saith, that these distinct Congrega-

<sup>2</sup> 'Εν προαστείοις πορρωτέρω κειμέ-

νατοις. *Vide ut antea.*

tions were only in the <sup>2</sup>re-

motest Suburbs ; and the

Christians hereof were not

nature like it ; but he takes care to leave upon record, that one single Bishop successively presided over all.

as yet arrived to those great numbers, but that seventy years after they could meet all together in one and the same place, as might be proved from that forementioned place of *Athanasius*.

So that these distinct Congregations were only for the Conveniency and Ease of those who lived at a great Distance from the Bishop's Church, being introduced in the third Century, and peculiar to the Bishoprick of *Alexandria*: All other Bishopricks confining themselves within their Primitive Bounds of a single Congregation, as we have before proved the largest of them did; even *Antioch, Rome, and Carthage*.

§. 12. If then a Bishoprick was but a single Congregation, it is no marvel that we find Bishops not only in

• To be a Bishop *in a village* and *of a village*, are very different things. We have only to read the history of our own native country, and we shall find a Bishop's See, now and then, fixed in a village, where his territories and dominions were as full of Parishes and Churches under him, as any Diocese in the land.

Two passages, quoted by our Author in support of his position, I shall join together, because in the application here made of them, they are really an answer to one another. *Clemens Romanus* tells us, that *the Apostles preaching both in country and city, (or through regions and cities, as it may be fitly rendered,) constituted Bishops and Deacons there*. The word *regions* being placed first in the text, it is but natural to suppose, that provinces or countries, in the most extensive sense, are here meant rather than mere country villages. But let us hear what St. Cyprian adds to this: *Bishops (says he,) were ordained throughout all provinces and all cities.*

Now since our Author quotes these two Fathers as being much to the same purpose, he has reason to understand St. *Clemens's countries*, and the *provinces* mentioned by St. *Cyprian*, to be the same thing. And since the latter never understood *provinces* in any other sense, than as *large tracts of countries*, containing cities, towns, and villages in them; so by parity of reasoning, it

Cities, but in Country Villages ; there being a Bishop constituted, wherever there were Believers enough to form a competent Congregation : For, says *Clemens Romanus*,

<sup>1</sup> Κατὰ χώρας οὖν, καὶ πόλεις κηρύσσοντες καθίσταντο—εἰς ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους. *Epist.* 1. ad Corinth. p. 54.

<sup>2</sup> Per omnes Provincias, et per urbes singulas ordinati sunt Episcopi. *Epist.* 52. §. 16. p. 119.

of the Synod of *Antioch*, it is said, That *Paulus Samosatenus* had many Flatterers <sup>3</sup> amongst the adjacent City and Country Bishops ; <sup>4</sup> of this sort of Country-Bishops was

the Apostles going forth and <sup>1</sup> preaching both in Country and City, constituted Bishops and Deacons there. Much to which purpose *Cyprian* says, That <sup>2</sup> Bishops were Ordained throughout all Provinces and Cities : Hence in the Encyclical Epistle

ought to be allowed, that St. *Clemens* meant the same sort of countries too. Hence we see that the passages under consideration prove nothing to our Enquirer's purpose ; since if they are equivalent, (as he says they are,) they only serve to shew, that both cities and countries might originally have had Bishops set over them, and villages, none at all.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I freely confess that the Historian does call *Comane*, a village ; and I dare say it really was so. Some villages might have had Bishops' Sees in them, while their jurisdiction reached much farther ; and it may the rather be presumed that *Comane* was a village of this kind, <sup>1</sup> since it had a Bishop's seat in it, even in the fifth century, and at the time of the council of *Chalce-*

<sup>1</sup> Episcopus Comanenus memoratur in *Epistolâ Episcoporum Pamphyliæ ad Leonem Aug.*

*Zoticus*, Bishop <sup>4</sup> of the Village of Comane. • And we may reasonably believe,

<sup>4</sup> Ζωτικόν ἀπὸ Κομάνης καύμαν. *Anonym. apud Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 16.* p. 182.

*don* ; when, I believe, no man thinks there was any one Bishop in the Christian Church, who had only a single village for his Diocese. But, be this as it may, it certainly must strike any impartial man as very remarkable, that so narrow a search should be made, to find here and there an instance of this kind, amongst so many thousand Bishoprics as the history of the Church affords ; whereas had villages been Bishops' Sees by Apostolical institution, (wherever any Congregation could be gathered in them,) the advantage in number, one would think, should soon have been on their side, in the general account of Episcopal Churches in the Christian world.

• It is surmised, that there must have been many Bishops of villages, and very obscure villages too, amongst those 78 Bishops, that sat in council with St. *Cyprian*, (in the year 258,) because we do not meet with the names of many of their Sees in *Ptolemy*, or the old geographers. Now, whatever may be missing in the ancient geography, here referred to, it is evident that every Diocese, named in that council, is well accounted for by the Editor of the *Oxford* Edition of St. *Cyprian's* works, in notes derived partly from those ancient geographers themselves, and partly from other Authors of unquestionable authority ; such as *Antoninus*, *Optatus*, St. *Austin*, *Victor Vitensis*, the *Notitia Africae*, *Collatio Carthaginensis*, &c. And as these Sees are generally styled *cities* in direct terms ; so, if one in twenty of them should be suspected to be otherwise, it would not prove the Dioceses to have been only single Congregations ; nor should it be thought strange that, in the confines of those inhospitable countries, where the natives rarely multiplied their cities, yet were numerous in their smaller and dispersed corporations, it should not be thought strange that, on becoming Christians, they should have their Bishops seated in the most convenient mansion for all. Such instances in the more uncivilized and desert parts of the world are unquestionably to be

See *Vales. in Euseb. ubi supra, et Concil. Chalced.* Part 3. p. 391.

That many of those Bishops, who in the Year 258, were assembled at <sup>5</sup> *Carthage*, to the number of fourscore and seven, had no other than obscure Villages for their Seats, since we find not the least notice of them in *Ptolemy*, or any of the old Geographers.

§. 13. But let the Bishops Seats have been in any Place whatever, their Limits, as hath been proved, exceeded not those of our Modern Parishes. I do not here mean, as was said before, that the Territory of some of them, was no larger; no, I readily grant that; for it is very probable, that in those places where there were but few Believers, the Christians, for several Miles round, met all together at the greatest place within that Compass, where probably there were most Christians, whence both the Church and its Bishop took their Denomination from that Place where they so assembled. But this is what I mean, that there were no more Christians in that Bishoprick, than there are now in our ordinary Parishes; and that the Believers of that whole Territory met altogether with their Bishop for the Performance of Religious Services.

\* Thus it was in the Age and Country of *Justin Martyr*, found: but to take a model of the Christian Church from them is strange indeed.

\* To close this second chapter, *Justin Martyr's* Sunday-Assemblies are once more recommended to our better consideration, and St. *Ignatius's* charge to the *Magnesians* to keep in close union with their Bishop; which, without their all going to his house of prayer, our Enquirer seems to think impracticable. How different the sense of those holy Fathers is from that which is here put upon them, I have shewn in §. 2. of this chapter; and hope such a construction of them, will be found conformable to the principles and practice of the Catholic Church of Christ, and so be readily admitted by all friends of the like primitive Constitution in our own country and times.

who describing their solemn Assemblies, writes, That, <sup>6</sup> on Sunday all the inhabitants both of City and Country met together, where the Lector read some Portions of the Holy Scriptures; and the Bishop preached unto them, administered the Eucharist, and sent by the Deacons part of the Consecrated Elements to those that were absent. So

that the inhabitants both of City and Country, assembled all at the Bishop's Church, hearing him, and communicating with him, following herein the Exhortation of Saint Ignatius to the *Magnesians*, <sup>7</sup> Let nothing, saith he, be in you, that may divide you; but be united to the Bishop, and those that preside over you: As therefore our Lord Jesus Christ did nothing without his Father, neither by himself, nor his Apostles, so do you nothing without the Bishop and Presbyters, but assemble into one Place, and have one Prayer, one Supplication, one Mind, and one Hope.

<sup>6</sup> Τῇ τοῦ ἡλίου λεγομένῃ ἡμέρᾳ πάντων κατὰ πόλεις ἢ ἀγροὺς μενόντων ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνέλευσις γίνεται—οἱ προεστῶς διὰ λόγου τὴν νυνέσίν ποιεῖται—ἐπείτα ἄξτος ἀροσφέρεται, καὶ οἱ προεστῶς εὐχὰς ἀναπέμπει—καὶ τοῖς οὖ παχοῦσι διὰ τῶν διακόνων πέμπεται. *Apolog.* 2. p. 98.

<sup>7</sup> Μηδὲν ἔστω ἐν ἑμῖν ὁ δινήσεται ὑμᾶς μερίσαι ἀλλ' ἐνώθητε τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, καὶ τοῖς προκαθημένοις—ῶστεο ὅν δικόιος ἀνεν τοῦ πατρὸς οὐδὲν ἐποίησε ἡνάκμένος ᾧ, οὔτε δι' ἔαυτοῦ, οὔτε διὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων, οὔτε μεδὲ ὑμεῖς ἀνεν τοῦ ἐπισκόπου καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων μηδὲ πράσσετε—ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ μίχ προσευχὴ μία δέησις, εἰς νοῦς, μία ἐλπίς. *Epist. ad Magnes.* p. 33.

## CHAPTER III.

§. 1. *What the Bishop's Office was.* §. 2. *Always Resident on his Cure.* §. 3. *How the Bishop was Chosen, Elected, or presented by the Majority of the Parish.* §. 4. *Approved by the Neighbouring Bishops.* §. 5. *Installed by Imposition of Hands.* *How many Bishops necessary to this Installment.* §. 6. *When a Bishop was promoted, he certified it to other Bishops.* §. 7. *A brief Recapitulation of the peculiar Acts of the Bishop.*

§. 1. THE Bishop's Flock having been so largely discussed, it will now be necessary to speak something of the Bishop's Duty towards them, and of the several Particulars of his honourable Office: I shall not here be tedious, since about this there is no great Difference: only briefly enumerate the several Actions belonging to his Charge.

\* In brief therefore; the particular Acts of his Function

\* The particulars of the Bishop's duty are many, and yet but little controverted. They are accurately summed up in this place, in order to introduce the absolute necessity of his *residing constantly* upon his Cure. It is very certain, however, that many of them are so represented by the Authors, here quoted, as to imply an inherent right in the Bishop to order the discharge of them by others, as much as a personal obligation to discharge them him-

<sup>1</sup> Origen. in Ezek. Hom. 3. act of *preaching*; <sup>1</sup> Origen elsewhere informs us, that the Bishop commanded him to

preach, and enjoined him the very subject he should preach upon: (Enquiry Chap. 4. §. 3. Obs. 1.) This shews the Bishop to be as much a spiritual guardian of the ordinance, obliged by his functions to provide effectually for the doing of it, as that he was personally bound to do it himself. And allowing but one

were such as these, *viz.*

<sup>1</sup> *Preaching of the Word,*  
<sup>2</sup> *Praying with his People,*  
<sup>3</sup> *administering the two Sacra-  
 ments of <sup>3</sup> Baptism and the*

<sup>1</sup> Origen. in Ezekiel. Hom. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Justin Martyr. Apol. 2. p. 98.

<sup>3</sup> Tertul. de Baptism. p. 602.

Congregation in a Diocese, it was a temporary dispensation to him, from performing that duty. <sup>2</sup> *Sozomen* goes further, and says, *it was a custom in the*

*Church of Rome, for neither Bishop nor any one else to preach there :* upon which the learned *Valesius* remarks, that no sermon of a Bishop of that Church was ever extant before those of *Leo* the Great, (which was in the 5th century,) and quotes *Cassiodorus* to confirm what *Sozomen* said. I infer no more from this, than what barely relates to the case before us, *viz.* that the Bishop's continual preaching to the people (which our Enquirer here asserts,) was not universal in the Primitive Churches themselves.

<sup>1</sup> No doubt, the administration of the Sacrament of Baptism is included in the Bishop's function, but let us hear <sup>3</sup> *Ter-*

<sup>3</sup> Tertul. de Baptis. c. 17.

*tullian's* own words on the subject : *The right of giving Baptism is in the Bishop, and from thence in the Presbyters, and Deacons, if he authorize them for it.* Hence it appears that the flock of Christ might be fed, and the ordinances of the Church administered in a Diocese, though the Bishop should not *constantly* act in his own person ; and that he was not wanting to his function, where he effectually provided that every act of it was performed to the edification and exigencies of his people. Personal presence is undoubtedly the truest and most faithful means of discharging any trust, especially such a high and heavenly one as this ; but it certainly is strange to hear the necessity of it so strongly insisted upon by one, who makes a Diocese but a single auditory ; and who, though there should be 40 or 50 Presbyters, (which, in his account of them, are as truly Apostolical Bishops in their order,

<sup>4</sup> Idem de Coron. Milit. p. 338.

<sup>5</sup> Justin Martyr. Apol. 2. p. 99.

<sup>6</sup> Firmilian. apud Cypr. Epist. 75. §. 6. p. 237.

<sup>7</sup> Tertul. Apol. cap. 39. p. 709.

<sup>8</sup> Cypr. Ep. 38. §. 2. p. 90.

<sup>9</sup> Idem. Ep. 10. §. 2. p. 30.

<sup>4</sup> *Lord's Supper, 5 taking care of the Poor, 6 Ordaining of Ministers, 7 Governing his Flock, 8 Excommunicating of Offenders, 9 Absolving of Penitents*; and, in a word; whatever Acts can be comprised under those three General Heads of Preaching, Worship and Government,

were parts of the Bishop's Function and Office.

I have but just named these things, because they are not much controverted; and my Design leads me chiefly to the Consideration of those Matters which have been unhappily disputed amongst us.

§. 2. To the constant Discharge of those forementioned Actions, did the Primitive Bishops sedulously apply themselves, continually preaching unto their People, praying with them, and watching over them, and to that end, residing always with them; which Incumbency or Residency on their Parishes, was deem'd so necessary, that <sup>2</sup> *Cyprian* enumerating the Sins that brought the Wrath of God upon the Churches in that bloody persecution of

as the very *supreme one* himself,) yet cannot allow *that single Pastor* to absent himself for a while, upon the most important affair, though he should depute all these Presbyters to watch over his little flock in his behalf.

<sup>2</sup> Our Enquirer here urges the opinions of St. *Cyprian*, who reckons this sin of non-residence, as one occasion of God's wrath upon the Church, in the *Decian* persecution: and I believe, it would be thought no better of even in *this*, or any other age, if we should take in all the other aggravations which that holy

<sup>4</sup> *Episcopi plurimi derelictâ martyr* charges it with. He *cathedrâ, plebe desertâ, per* complains <sup>4</sup> *that Bishops left*

*Decius*, mentions the Bishops Non-Residencies as one ;  
<sup>1</sup> *Their leaving their Rectories, and deserting their Flocks, and wandering about the Country to hunt after Worldly*

<sup>1</sup> *Episcopi, derelictâ cathedrâ, plebe desertâ, per alienas Provincias oberrantes negotiationis questuosæ nundinas aucupari.*  
*De Lapsis*, §. 4. p. 278.

*their Dioceses, to follow sordid merchandise abroad, to purchase farms by fraud and extortion, to enrich themselves by usury upon usury, neglecting to relieve the brethren that were starving in the Church. Such non-residence might indeed draw down judgments upon a Church ; but will scarcely prove, that no occasions (however important, innocent, or just,) can excuse the temporary absence of a Bishop from his See, where every district in his Diocese has subordinate Pastors provided for it. St. Cyprian himself was absent for a considerable time on an extraordinary occasion ; and his example shews us how a Diocese is capable of being provided for in such a case.* <sup>5</sup> *Though absent in body,* <sup>5</sup> *Absens corpore, nec spiritu, nec actu, nec monitis meis defui—Presbyteris et Diaconis non defuit sacerdotii vigor ut quidam minus disciplinæ memores—comprimerentur, intercedentibus nobis.* Ep. 20. *discipline of the Church.* Those spiritual stewards of the Lord's household will have a hard account to give, if whensoever their Lord cometh, he finds them not watching. But by what rules of equity, that watchfulness, which he enjoins them, shall be acceptable in the last day, is reserved to himself alone, who knows the heart, and judges not by appearance, but according to truth. This is matter of awe enough to every servant in his family ; and at the same time proves how wrong it is for any, but their Lord and Master, to pass sentence on their service.

*Gain and Advantage* : And therefore the said *Cyprian* writing to the *Roman Confessors*, who were inveigled into the Schism of *Novatian*, tells them, <sup>2</sup> that since he could not leave his Church, and come in Person unto them,

<sup>2</sup> Nos Ecclesiâ derelictâ, foras exire, et ad vos venire non possumus. *Epist. 44. §. 2. p. 102.*

therefore by his Letters he most earnestly exhorted them to quit that Schismatical Faction ; so that he looked on his Obligation of Residency at his Church to be so binding, as that in no Case almost, could he warrant the leaving of it ; which Determination of his might be the more fix'd and peremptory, because that not long before,

<sup>3</sup> Epist. 3. apud *Cyprian. p. 11.* he was so severely tax'd

<sup>3</sup> by the *Roman Clergy*, and by many of his own <sup>4</sup> Parish, for departing from them for a while, though it was to avoid the Fury of his Persecutors, who had already proscribed him, and would have executed him as a Malefactor, had he not by that Recess from his Church, escaped their murderous Hands.

So that the Primitive Apostolick Bishops constantly resided with their Flocks, conscientiously applying themselves with the utmost Diligence and Industry to the Promotion of the Spiritual Welfare of those that were committed to their Trust, employing themselves in all Acts of Piety, and Offices of Charity ; so leading a laborious and mortified Life, till either a natural, or a violent Death removed them from Earth to Heaven, where they were made Priests to the most High, and were infinitely remunerated for all their Pains and Sorrows ; and so leaving their particular Flocks on Earth, to be fed and govern'd by others who should succeed them in their Places ; which brings me in the next place to enquire, How a vacant Bishoprick was supplied, or in what manner a Bishop or Minister was elected to a Diocess or Parish ?

§. 3. Now the Manner of electing a Bishop, I find to be thus : \* When a Parish or Bishoprick was vacant

\* The next question is, how a Bishop was anciently elected into a vacant See ; which is thus determined for us : “ 1st. That all the members of the *Parish or Bishopric*, both Clergy and Laity, commonly met to choose a fit person for his successor, to whom *they might commit the care and government of their Church.* 2dly. <sup>6</sup> Enquiry §. 4.

Whomsoever the people had thus elected, they presented to their neighbouring Bishops for their approbation and consent, lest the people, through ignorance or affection, should choose an unfit or unable man for the sacred office : it being supposed, (as our Enquirer says,) that a synod of Bishops might be wiser judges in the case. 3dly. A bishop thus elected and confirmed, is to have his *Ordination or Instalment* in his own Church, by the neighbouring Bishops, and that by imposition of their hands.” These it seems, were the three requisites for the filling of any vacant Bishopric in the primitive times : and the two former, so equally necessary, that it is <sup>7</sup> concluded that <sup>7</sup> §. 4.

“ neither the choice of the Bishop of the Voisinage, without the consent of the people, nor the election of the people, without the approbation of the Bishops, was sufficient and valid of itself :” and after both, the ceremony of *Ordination or Instalment* was to finish all.

Now it need not be disputed, that *in the vacancy of a See, all the members of it, (Clergy and Laity,) commonly met together, in many Dioceses, though not in all, to choose a fit person for a successor* ; provided that, by *choosing here*, we may be allowed to understand merely what our Enquirer intimates to us, viz. the selection of a person acceptable to themselves, whom they might propose and recommend to the neighbouring Bishops for their approbation and consent ; that is, for those Bishops to accept or refuse, as they should think fit : for where we sue for approbation or consent, we must allow a right and power to disapprove and dissent.

The next words go farther : *they met* (says our Author,) *to choose a successor, to whom they might commit the care and*

through the Death of the Incumbent, all the Members of that Parish, both Clergy and Laity, met together in

*government of their Church.* This is somewhat more than preparing to recommend to others; it is plainly attributing to the individual members of a Church a considerable share, at least, of original right and power invested in them, to dispose of their Bishopric to the person whom they should please to choose. Nor is there any doubt, but that our Enquirer intended his words

<sup>8</sup> Enquiry Ch. 6. §. 2.

should be understood in this sense; for in another place,<sup>8</sup>

where he treats directly of the acts and powers of the Lay-members of a Church, he affirms in plain terms, that they *had a power* not only to *elect* the persons of their Bishop, but to *depose him too*, in case he proved scandalous, heretical, or the like.

Now what this lay-power really was, in constituting Bishops of old, and from whence it came, is the point in question: for the easier solution of which, we need only carefully observe these two things: 1st. What the Holy Scriptures themselves teach us, concerning the Divine institution of this sacred office and power of constituting and ordaining Bishops and Pastors in the Church, together with the manner in which it was first executed, and practised in the Apostolical age itself. And,

2dly. What account of the same thing we meet with in the Ecclesiastical Records of Fathers, Councils, or Historians, in the ages nearly approaching to the first.

These two great authorities, impartially compared together, will teach us to distinguish, on the one hand, between a divine right and power of ordaining elders in the Church, (a power conveyed down from above to the first spiritual rulers of it,) without the concurrence of any popular election; and, on the other, the prudent rules and methods, which succeeding Governours, in many parts of the Church, laid down for themselves, in the use and practice of that ordaining power. If this distinction were but duly attended to, and applied without prejudice to the present controversy; the adversaries, on both sides, might find their account in it, and so be more inclined to compromise their unhappy differences about it. For if the former part of this dis-

the Church commonly, to chuse a fit Person for his Successor, to whom they might commit the Care and Government of their Church.

tinction be true, then such as disallow the necessity of popular elections in the case, must have a very important plea (even from the Scriptures themselves) for their opinion of it; and if primitive Bishops formed Rules and Canons by mutual consent among themselves, not to exercise the ordaining power and office, invested in them, otherwise than in the presence, and with the general approbation of the church or people, over which the person, so ordained, was intended to preside; then the advocates for this popular claim, interest, or right of bearing some part in electing and constituting a Bishop over them, may have plausible precedents of Ecclesiastical Antiquity to recommend their plea for it likewise. These two points contain the main substance of what is generally offered on either side; and seems to me more immediately to answer all the reasonings of our learned Enquirer about it.

The Reader may find this subject more fully considered in the Appendix: the particulars of what is there advanced from Scripture evidence relating to the Argument before us, are <sup>9</sup> See Appendix, No. 10. briefly these :

1st. That the principal Apostles themselves were unquestionably chosen and ordained supreme Governours and Pastors of all that did, or should believe, in their time, without the concurrence or consent of any; and this was the root and fountain of all Church-power granted from above.

2dly. That the same Apostles must have had the like ordaining power personally and entirely invested in themselves alone, upon these two accounts: because their commission, in this respect, was, in express words, the very transcript of the *Father's* to their Lord and Master, who sent them, (*as my Father hath sent me, even so send I you*, John xx. 21,) and because their pastoral work in converting unconverted nations, and constituting or ordaining spiritual Governours for them, being, in that respect, the same also, naturally required the same authority and power for it.

<sup>b</sup> Thus when *Alexander* was chosen Bishop of *Jerusalem*, it was by the <sup>5</sup> *Compulsion* <sup>5</sup> 'Αδελφοὶ οὐκέτ' οἴκαδε αὐτῷ παλινοστεῖν ἐπιτρέπουσι. *Euseb.* or *Choice of the Members* lib. 6. cap. 11. p. 212. *of that Church.* And as for the Bishoprick of *Rome*, we have a memorable Instance

3dly. It appears from the evidence of the *Scriptures*, as well as from many unexceptionable authorities, that those adopted Apostles, *St. Paul*, and *St. Barnabas*, ordained elders for the Churches, in the same manner, as to their sole and personal act in it.

4thly. That the same *St. Paul* conveyed the like power to *Timothy* and *Titus*, requiring no concurrence of a popular election with them, either in his commission or instructions to them, but on the contrary, left with them cautions to beware of trusting too much to any such elections. And,

Lastly, with respect to that single instruction so often strained to prove a popular election, viz. *that Bishops or Deacons must be first proved, and found to be blameless*, it is shown, that neither in the sense of the Apostle himself, nor from the nature of the thing, nor in the sense and judgment of the learned Enquirer himself, any such popular claim or title could be implied in it.

<sup>b</sup> Our Enquirer here offers some instances of a popular election in the primitive Church. His first instance is that of *Alexander* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, chosen there (says he,) by the compulsion or choice of the members of that Church. The quotation in plain

<sup>1</sup> 'Αδελφοὶ οὐκέτ' οἴκαδε αὐτῷ παλινοστεῖν ἐπιτρέπουσι. *Euseb.* 1. 6. c. 11. English may be translated thus : <sup>1</sup> the brethren would not suffer *Alexander* to return home. *Alexander*, it appears, was a Bishop

in *Cappadocia* long before that time; but out of devotion came to *Jerusalem* to pray there, and to visit the country. Here by one divine vision to himself, and another to the people of *Jerusalem*, God was pleased to signify, that he should stay amongst them, and be an Assistant-Bishop to the superannuated *Narcissus*, now 116 years old. Upon which visions, with an audible voice

of this kind in the Advancement of *Fabianus* to that See, upon the Death of Bishop

*Anterus*: <sup>6</sup> All the People met together in the Church to chuse a Successor, proposing several illustrious and eminent Perso-

<sup>6</sup> Τὸν γὰρ ἀδελφῶν ἀπάντων χειροτονίας ἔνεκεν τῆς τοῦ μέλλοντος διαδέξεσθαι τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας συγκεκριτημένων,

from heaven to confirm them, *the people would not suffer him to return home again.*

This is the first example of the people's choosing a Bishop for themselves. I shall join the second to it, because of the resemblance they have to one another: it is that of *Fabianus's* promotion to the Bishoprick of *Rome*. Whilst the people were met together in consultation about nominating a person whom they approved, a dove miraculously lighted upon *Fabianus's* head, in the same manner as the Holy Ghost formerly descended on our blessed Saviour. At this Divine vision, the people, <sup>2</sup> as it were by inspiration, cry out with one heart, and one mind, that

<sup>2</sup> "Οτιπερ ἵψ' ἐνὸς πνεύματος θείου κινθέντα ὄμοσε. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. 1. 6. c. 29.

*Fabianus* was worthy of the Bishopric; and straightway they set him on the Episcopal throne.

To all extraordinary occasions of this nature St. *Cyprian* furnishes us with a short answer, <sup>3</sup> We must not wait for the testimony of men, (says that excellent Father,) where the testimony of God is given us before.

<sup>3</sup> Non expectanda sunt testimonia humana, cum præcedunt divina suffragia. Cypr. Epist. 38. Edit. Oxon.

himself followed, when he ordained the eminent confessor *Aurelius*, a Deacon of his Church, without the people's character or testimony of him. Now if the constancy of *Aurelius*, under his several trials and persecutions, gained for him the name of God's testimony; surely the heavenly voice and visions, in each of the foregoing instances (of *Alexander* and *Fabianus*) may well be taken for no less: and consequently the human suffrages, whether of Laity or Clergy, were but indifferent precedents to shew how far they might go.

πλείστων τε ἐπιφανῶν καὶ ἐνδόξων, ἀνδρῶν τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐν ὑπονοίᾳ υπαρχόντων, ὁ Φαβιανὸς παρὰν, οὐδενὸς μὲν ἀνδρώπων εἰς διάνοιαν ἦει, ὅμως δ' οὐν ἀνδρός εκ μετεώρου περιστεράνη κατατάσσειν ἐπικαθῆσθαι τὴν ἀντοῦ κεφαλῆν μημονεύοντι μίμημα ἐνδεικνυμένην τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ σωτῆρα τοῦ ἀγίου πνεύματος ἐν εἰδεῖ περιστεράνης καθόδου, εφ' ὧ τὸ πάντα λαὸν ὥσπερ ὑφ' ἐνὸς πνεύματος θείου κινηθέντα δύσσε, προδυνάμια πάσον καὶ μιᾶ. Φυχῆ ἀξιον ἐπιβοῆσαι καὶ ἀμελλήτως ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς λαβόντας αὐτὸν ἐπιδεῖγα. *Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 28. p. 229.*

<sup>7</sup> Episcopo Cornelio—Cleri ac plebis suffragio ordinato. *Cyp. Epist. 67. §. 2. p. 198.*

*Clergy and Laity.*

<sup>c</sup> Two more instances of a popular election are proposed to us, that of *Cornelius*, the successor of *Fabianus* at *Rome*; and that of *St. Cyprian* himself at *Carthage*. In *St. Cyprian's* case, *Pontius*, the Deacon, calls it the *favour* of the *people*; and our Enquirer has not failed to quote the expression here. But let *Pontius* be his own commentator, who, in the same page, calls the people's

<sup>4</sup> Plebs spirituali desiderio concupiscens—Episcopum &c. *Pont. in vit. Cyp. p. 3. Ed. Ox.*

indeed, but, at the same time, little of authority in the case.

But, in truth, the force of both these instances lies in the language of *St. Cyprian*, and in the construction of the word *Suffrage*; which will come under our consideration in the subsequent remark.

*nages, as fit for that Office, whilst no one so much as thought upon Fabianus then present, till a Dove miraculously came and sate upon his Head, in the same manner as the Holy Ghost formerly descended on our Saviour; and then all the People, guided as it were, with one Divine Spirit, cryed out with one Mind and Soul, That Fabianus was worthy of the Bishoprick; and so straightways taking him, they placed him on the Episcopal Throne. And as Fabianus, so likewise his Successor Cornelius was elected by the Suffrage of the*

*part in it, <sup>4</sup> their earnest spiritual desire to have him for their Bishop: which shews their favour had strong inclination*

Thus also with respect to the Diocese of *Carthage*, *Cyprian* was chosen Bishop thereof by its Inhabitants and Members, as *Pontius* his Deacon writes, <sup>8</sup> *That though he was a Novice, yet by the grace of God, and the Favour of the People, he was elevated to that sublime Dignity*; which is no more than what *Cyprian* himself acknowledges, who frequently owns, that he was promoted to that Honourable Charge by the <sup>9</sup> *Suffrage of the People*.

§. 4. When the People had thus elected a Bishop, they presented him to the neighbouring Bishops for their Approbation and Consent, because without their concurrent Assent, there could be no Bishop legally instituted, or confirmed.

Thus when the fore-mentioned *Alexander* was chosen Bishop of *Jerusalem*, by the Brethren of that Place; he had also <sup>1</sup> *common Consent of the circumjacent Bishops*. Now the Reason of this, I suppose, was, lest the People thro' Ignorance or Affection,

<sup>1</sup> Τοῦτο δὲ ἀράξαντες μετακοινῆς των ἐπισκόπων οἱ τὰς πέριξ διεῖπον ἐκκλησίας γνωμῆς. *Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 11. p. 212.*

should chuse an unfit, or an unable Man for that sacred Office; it being supposed, that a Synod of Bishops had more Wisdom, Learning, and Prudence, than a Congregation of unlearned and ignorant Men, and so were better able to judge of the Abilities and Qualifications of the Person elect, than the People were. Hence we find, that sometimes the election of a Bishop is attributed to the Choice of the Neighbouring Bishops, with the Consent and Suffrage of the People: This Custom generally prevail'd throughout

<sup>2</sup> Apud nos, et fere per Provincias universas tenetur, ut ad Ordinationes rite celebrandas,

*Africa*; where upon the Vacancy of a See <sup>2</sup> <sup>3</sup> *The Neighbouring Bishops of the Province met together at that*

<sup>4</sup> No doubt, there existed in the primitive Church the custom of provincial Bishops repairing to a vacant See, and, in the *presence of the people*, settling the election of the intended Bishop, and ordaining him there; I mean in most provinces, though not in all; <sup>5</sup> which is as much as the quotations require.

But to bring the question to a short issue, what was the part or office of the people in those public ordinations? The Enquiry, treating of the Presbyter's examination for holy orders, allows

<sup>6</sup> See Enquiry ch. 5. §. 8. of the people's *testimony and attestation* <sup>6</sup> only in the case; but when he comes to be made a *Bishop indeed*, in the true and universal sense of the Catholic Church, then the people's testimony improves itself into a *claim of power* sufficient to *elect him Bishop*, if they please, or to *depose him afterwards*, if they think he proves unfit for it.

Now, let us inquire whether the primitive Church itself, which so commonly ordained in the *presence* of the people, acknowledged any such power in them, or no?

To prove that it *did*, the Enquirer produces first of all the instance of an *African Synod*, related by St. *Cyprian* [Ep. 68. §. 6, or in the *Oxon. Edit. Ep. 67*]. In this account of the case, we are told what the general custom was; and that the particular ordination of *Sabinus* was in all points conformable to it. It is affirmed of the general custom, in our Author's own translation, that the neighbouring Bishops met together at the Church of a vacant See, and *chose* a Bishop. Here is as plain a proof, I think, of the neighbouring Bishops *choosing* the person, as words can make it. What then is said of the people? Only this, *that it was in their presence, who knew his life and conversation before*. That their knowledge of his previous life and conversation, should qualify them to *give testimony* of his moral conduct and behaviour

*Church, and chose a Bishop in the Presence of the People, who knew his Life and Conversation before ; which Cus-* ad eam plebem cui præpositus ordinatur. Episcopi ejusdem Provinciae proximi quique conveniant, et Episcopus deligatur,

amongst them, and so encourage or discourage the Bishops in making or confirming their elections, is a natural and genuine inference from that expression : and if we will allow St. *Cyprian* to make his references and similitudes apposite to the subject to which he applies them, we must conclude it was his own meaning too. For upon this very argument, and in the same page, he refers to God's instructions to *Moses*, to bring forth *Aaron*, with *Eleazar*, his son, and to place them before the Congregation, in order to consecrate the son, his father's successor ; and, I presume, no man infers from hence, that the Congregation of *Israel* chose or voted *Eleazar* to the High Priesthood, because it was to be done in their presence. The reason <sup>7</sup> given by St. *Cyprian* for quoting the sacred text, and applying it to the argument he had in hand is this, to shew that the judgment and testimony about ordinations, should be as public as possible.

<sup>7</sup> Ut sacerdos, plebe præsente, sub omnium oculis delegatur, et dignus atque idoneus publico judicio ac testimonio comprobetur, sicut in Numeris Dominus Moysi præcepit. *Cyp. Ep. 68. vel Edit. Oxon. Ep. 67.*

For any thing that appears in this quotation, the general custom of the Church made the election of the person to be the Bishop's part, and left the people's *presence* and *testimony* only to be theirs ; and doubtless, in *Sabinus's* case it could be no otherwise, for it is introduced here with this attestation, *that this custom of the Church was accordingly observed in the ordination of Sabinus.* Where lies the evidence then, that the people chose ? It lies wholly in a *positive* construction of a dubious and mistaken word in this quotation, and in the Enquirer's confounding two terms, which the accurate St. *Cyprian* had carefully distinguished. That holy Father's words, (to translate them aright,) are these ; *that the Bishopric was conferred upon Sabinus, by the suffrage of all the brethren, and by the judgment of the Bishops*

plebe præsente, quæ singulorum vitam plenissime novit, et uniuscujusque actum de ejus Conversatione perspexit. Quod factum videmus in Sabini Ordinatione, ut de universæ fraternitatis Suffragio, et de Episcoporum judicio Episcopatus ei deferetur. *Synod. African. apud Cyprian. Epist. 68. §. 6. p. 202.*

*tom was observed in the Election of Sabinus, Bishop of Emerita in Spain, who was advanced to that Dignity by the Suffrage of all the Brethren, and of all the Bishops there present.* But whether the Election of a Bishop, be ascribed to the adjoining Ministers or to the People of that Parish, it comes all to

*Judgment* and *suffrage* are here plainly distinguished, the former being attributed to the Bishops alone, and the latter to all the brethren: whereas the Enquirer was pleased to unite them in his translation, and says that *Sabinus was advanced to that dignity by the suffrage of all the brethren, and of all the Bishops there present.* By this ingenuous union of the words, (*suffrage* being made the same with a *judicial act*,) we might be insensibly led to suppose, that, in this election, the people had at least an equal share of right and power with the Bishops themselves. The Reader is requested to notice this particularly, because a great stress of the Enquirer's arguments for popular election seems to lie in a misconstruction of the word *suffrage*, in the writings of St. *Cyprian.*

That primitive Father in his tract (*de Zelo et Livore*) speaking of the people's transport of satisfaction and joy at *David's* slaying

<sup>8</sup> *Populus admirans in laudes David prædicationis suffragio proposituit. Cyp. de Zelo et Liv. p. 223. Oxon. Edit.*

of *Goliath*, expresses it thus: <sup>8</sup> *They broke forth into commendations of David, with suffrage of applause.* What can this *suffrage of applause* signify, but

a testimony of the people's highest approbation of the thing done, not expressed by votes, but by public acclamations? This St. *Cyprian* calls the *suffrage* of the people.

Again, in his Treatise, (*de Vanitate Idolorum*,) when speaking of the *Jews* earnestly urging *Pilate* to crucify our blessed Lord, he

one and the same thing ; neither the Choice of the Bishops of the Voisinage, without the Consent of the People ; nor the Election of the People, without the Approbation of those Bishops, was sufficient and valid of it self ; but both concurred to a legal and orderly Promotion, which was according to the Example of the Apo-

says, <sup>9</sup> *They delivered him unto Pontius Pilate, requesting of him by force, and importunate suffrages, that he should be crucified.*

What more is meant by these *importunate suffrages*, than that the *Jews* shewed their wicked inclination, desire, and highest approbation of the thing, if *Pilate* should pass such a sentence upon him ? for they themselves declared that they had no *power* to put any man to death (John xviii. 31.) : yet this St. *Cyprian* calls the *suffrage of the Jews*.

I shall adduce one instance more, because it contains that holy Father's *own* explanation of the word, and plainly shews that, by *suffrage*, he meant nothing more than *public testimony*. In his 68th. Epistle he says of *Corne- lius's* ordination, that it was <sup>1</sup> *De cleri et plebis suffragio.*

*by the suffrage of the Clergy and the people* : and he says of the same ordination in another place, that it was <sup>2</sup> *the testimony of almost all the Clergy, and by the suffrage of the people that were there.* Now if the *testi-*

*mony* of the Clergy in the latter clause be not the same with their *suffrage* in the former, then it was something less : and consequently the personal part and interest of the Clergy in elections falls short of that of the common people, to whom a suffrage is imputed in the same clause : which, I presume, can hardly be intended. But if the terms be allowed to be equivalent, the case is plain, and St. *Cyprian* appears consistent with himself. See Appendix, No. 11.

<sup>9</sup> *Magistri eorum Pontio Pi- lato tradiderunt crucem ejus, et mortem suffragis violentis et pertinacibus flagitantes. Cyp. de Vanit. Idol. p. 16. Ed. Ox.*

<sup>1</sup> *De cleri et plebis suffragio.*  
Cypr. Epist. 68.

<sup>2</sup> *De clericorum poene omnium testimonio, et de plebis, quæ tunc affuit, suffragio. Ep. 55. p. 104. Edit. Oxon.*

<sup>3</sup> Κατασταθέντας δωτ' ἔκεινων, ἡ μεταξὺ ὑφ' ἐτέξων ἡλλογίμων ἀνδρῶν συνευδοκησάστος τῆς ἐκκλησίας πασῶν. Clem Rom. Ep. 1. ad.

Cor. p. 57.

*with the Consent of the whole Church.*

stles and Apostolick Preachers, who in the first Plantation of Churches, <sup>3</sup> *Ordained Bishops and Deacons,*

<sup>4</sup> Our learned Author here observes, that *Apostles and Apostolick preachers ordained Bishops and Deacons with the consent of the whole Church*; that is, by their votes given for the candidate to be ordained, in the manner of a regular election; for so the subject to which he applies the passage, obliges us to understand it. Now this evidence so far agrees with the former, that the whole force of it lies as before in the signification of a single word. St. Clement's word for *consenting* is *συνευδοκησάστος*, which directly answers to St. Cyprian's notion of the word *suffrage*. Εὐδοκέω (which bears a near affinity to it) often occurs in Holy Scripture. God's *complacency* in his own Son is expressed by that word in

three of the Gospels: <sup>3</sup> *This is*

<sup>3</sup> 'Εν φιλοκησα. Matth. iii. 17. *my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.* <sup>4</sup> St. Paul uses

Mark i. 2. Luke iii. 22.

<sup>4</sup> Εὐδοκῶ ἐν ἀσθενείαις &c. 2 Cor. xii. 10.

*it for taking pleasure in infirmities, in reproaches, in necessities; and for the wicked's being pleased with unrighteousness.*

(2 Thess. ii. 12.) Other passages to the same purpose might

<sup>5</sup> Εὐδοκησάντες ἐν ἀδικίᾳ, τοῦτ' εστιν χαίρειν, εὐφραντομαι, μετ' εὐδυνιστας δεχομαι. Theodor. in loc. Πιστεύθησαν ἀσμενως τῇ ἀδικίᾳ. Theophyl. in loc.

<sup>6</sup> Σαῦλος δε τὴν συνευδοκῶν τῇ ἀναιρεσει αὐτοῦ. Act. viii. 1.

be adduced, wherein learned Commentators have explained εὐδοκεω to mean <sup>5</sup> *rejoicing, resting highly satisfied in, acquiescing in, &c.* <sup>6</sup> St. Luke expresses Saul's consent to the death of St. Stephen by the very same word, which St. Clement uses here. But if that

tragedical act was nothing but the lawless violence of a barbarous and incensed multitude, (as the holy Penman's relation of it sufficiently shows,) then Saul's consenting to such an act, can have no other sense so fairly put upon it, as that he highly ap-

§. 5. <sup>f</sup> A Bishop being thus elected and confirmed, the next thing that followed, was his Ordination or Installment, which was done in his own Church by the neighbouring Bishops; as *Cyprian* mentions some Bishops in

proved the thing, had a thorough satisfaction in it, and his heart went along with those, who were the principal actors in it. Hence it appears that the sense of St. *Clement's* word, even in the language of Holy Scripture itself, in no wise warrants such an inference from it, as can establish a popular election. See Appendix, No. 12.

<sup>f</sup> Our Enquirer here makes *Ordination* and *Instalment* equivocal and convertible terms, and asserts that the *ordaining* and *installing* of a Bishop are one and the same thing. He translates the word *ordinare*, which occurs in the ancient writings of the Fathers, by the English word *installing*; and (what is still more strange) he makes this *Installing*-Act to be performed by imposition of Episcopal hands. Now English readers know very well that the *Ordination* of a Bishop is one thing, and <sup>7</sup> the *Instalment* of him, another. *A Bishop is complete to all intents and purposes, both as to temporalities and spiritualities after Consecration; but Instalment is performed afterwards, in a manner different enough, by officers and ceremonies, very little akin to those of Consecration.*

<sup>7</sup> See *Godolphin. Repert. Canon.*  
p. 26, and 44. *Edit. 3. Lond.*  
1687.

Do any other Ecclesiastical Records, either modern or ancient, warrant the Enquirer's singular notion of the terms under consideration? I think not. Why then advance it at all in this place? Probably because he feared, that if the sacred act of *Ordination*, by imposition of Episcopal hands, should appear to imprint any other character upon the person so consecrated, or ordained, than the mere act of *Instalment* does, then these two consequences would ensue: 1st. The part which provincial Bishops took in ancient Ordinations, would prove to be something more than their bare consent and approbation of the people's election; which is the chief part that he allows them in the case. And

\* In Capsensi Civitate propter Ordinationem Episcopi essetis. *Epist. 53. §. 1. p. 131.*

Bishop Elect, and in the ordained or Installed him Bishop

5 Episcopatus ei deferretur, et manus ei imponeretur. *Apud Cyprian. Epist. 68. §. 6. p. 202.*

6 Quinque Pseudo-episcopi Carthaginem venerint, et Fortunatam sibi dementiae suæ socium constituerint. *Cyprian. Epist. 55. §. 12. p. 140.*

7 Ἐπισκόπους τρεις ἀνθεάπους ἀγροίκους καὶ ἀπλουστάτους πλαστῆ τινὶ ἐπιχειρήσει ἐξαπατήσῃ—μετὰ βίας ἣν ἀγκασεν εἰκονικῇ τινὶ καὶ ματαίᾳ χειρεπιδεσίᾳ ἐπισκοπὴν ἀντῷ δῶναι. *Cornel. apud Eus. lib. 6. cap. 43. p. 243.*

his time, who went to <sup>4</sup> a city called Capse to install a Bishop; whither when they were come, they took the presence of his Flock, Ordination of that Church, by Imposition of Hands, as *Sabinus* was <sup>5</sup> placed in his Bishoprick by Imposition of Hands. Therefore *Fortunatus* the Schismatical Bishop of *Carthage*, <sup>6</sup> got five Bishops to come and Ordain him at *Carthage*: And so *Novatian*, when he Schismatically aspired to the Bishoprick of *Rome*, that he might not seem to leap in Uncanonical-ly, <sup>7</sup> wheedled three ignorant and simple Bishops to come to *Rome* and install him in that Bishoprick by Imposition of Hands.

How many Bishops were necessary to this installing of a Bishop Elect, I find not; Three were sufficient, as is apparant from the forecited action of *Novatian*; whether less would do, I know not, since I find not the least Footsteps of it in my Antiquity, unless that from *Novatian's* sending

2dly. Their imposition of hands, at this Installing Ordination, might look like advancing the candidate to a new order. This would lessen the people's part too much in making Bishops for themselves, and overthrow the whole scheme of his next Chapter; the object of which is to prove, that the orders of *Bishop* and *Presbyter* in the Church are plainly one and the same.

for, and fetching just three Bishops out of *Italy*, we conclude that Number to be necessary.

But if there were more than Three, it was not accounted unnecessary or needless ; for the more Bishops there were present at an Installment, the more did its Validity and Unexceptionableness appear : Whence *Cyprian* argues the undeniable Legality of *Cornelius's* Promotion to the See of *Rome*, because he had <sup>8</sup> *sixteen Bishops present at his Ordination* : And for this Reason it was, that *Fortunatus* the Schismatical Bishop of *Carthage* falsely boasted, That there were <sup>9</sup> *Twenty-five Bishops present at his Installment*. And thus in short, we have viewed the Method of the Ancients in their Election of Bishops ; we have shewn, that they were elected by the People, approved and installed by the Neighbouring Bishops ; on which Account it is that *Cyprian* calls them <sup>1</sup> *Chosen and Ordained*.

<sup>8</sup> *Episcopo in Ecclesiâ à sedecim Coepiscopis facto. Epist. 52. §. 16. p. 119.*

<sup>9</sup> *Jactare viginti quinque Episcopos affuisse. Cyprian. Epist. 55. §. 12. p. 140.*

§. 6. It may not now be amiss to mention this Custom, that when a Bishop was thus presented and advanced to a See, he immediately gave notice of it to other Bishops, especially to the most renowned Bishops and Bishopricks, as <sup>2</sup> *Cornelius* writ to *Cyprian* Bishop of *Carthage*, an Account of his being promoted to the See of *Rome* ; betwixt which two Churches, there was such a peculiar Intercourse and Harmony, as that this Custom was more particularly observed by them, insomuch that it was observed by the

<sup>2</sup> *Tu te Episcopum factum literis nunciare. Cyprian. Ep. 42. §. 4. p. 99.*

<sup>3</sup> Venerunt ad nos missi à Novatiano Maximus Presbyter, &c. *Cyprian. Epist.* 41. §. 1. p. 96.

<sup>4</sup> Ad te Legati à Fortunato missi. *Idem Epist.* 55. §. 18. p. 143.

Schismatical Bishops of each Church, <sup>3</sup> *Novatian* giving notice to *Cyprian*, Bishop of *Carthage*, of his promotion to the Church of *Rome*; And <sup>4</sup> *Fortunatus* advising *Cornelius* Bishop of *Rome*, of his Advancement to the Church of *Carthage*.

§. 7. <sup>5</sup> Let what hath been spoken now suffice for the peculiar Acts of the Bishop: We have proved, that there was but one Bishop to a Church, and one Church to a

<sup>5</sup> On a review of the whole Chapter, I cannot help observing, that the manner in which our Enquirer has represented, or rather misrepresented, the primitive custom of electing and constituting a Bishop in a vacant See, is a far greater occasion of the unhappy controversies and divisions about it, than the primitive custom itself, if truly stated, could ever be to the most captious adversaries of the Church.

1st. He makes that to be a stated *right* of *election* in the people, which, in truth, amounts to no more than their public testimony, or cheerful approbation of the candidates, whom the provincial Bishops should think fit to ordain. 2dly. He has asserted that right of the people in such terms, as to lead us to believe, that it must have been of divine institution, either from Christ or his Apostles; whereas the Holy Scriptures declare no such institution; but assure us, on the contrary, that the full power of Ordination was a personal charge intrusted wholly to the first founders and governors of the Apostolical Churches, and conveyed down to others, in the same manner, without any previous or concurrent election of the people. 3dly. He has pronounced the ordaining, or constituting of a Bishop, in a vacant See, to be absolutely invalid, without such a popular election: and, by leaving undefined the validity which he means, he has induced the opinion, that, at no time, in no place or pro-

Bishop ; we have shewn the Bishop's Office and Function, Election and Ordination ; what farther to add on this Head, I know not : For as for those other Acts which he performed jointly with his Flock, we must refer them to another place, till we have handled those other Matters which previously propose themselves unto us ; The first of which will be an Examination into the Office and Order of a Presbyter, which, because it will be somewhat long, shall be the Subject of the following Chapter.

vince whatsoever, can a Christian Bishop be duly ordained and set over any Church, unless he be authorized and qualified for it by such an election of the people : whereas it may be proved, that the utmost validity which any such sort of Ordinations has had in any age of the Church, was grounded only on the prudential consent, or canons, of some provincial Bishops, who had agreed to join the people's approbation to the Episcopal authority in Ordinations ; but was binding only on themselves, and within their own districts or jurisdictions, and was repealable at will, because prudential only, and having no divine command for it. 4thly. To finish all, he has hazarded the assertion, that the Ordination and Instalment of a Bishop are one and the same thing, and has made the Installation to be performed by imposition of hands : though he can find no warrant for this singular language in any Ecclesiastical Records, whether ancient or modern.

Let any impartial man consider what probability there is, that such representations of Antiquity as these, should answer the pious and peaceable ends, which our Enquirer professes in his Preface, and should contribute to the healing of the unhappy divisions of the Church in the case and controversy now before us.

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## C H A P T E R      I V.

§. 1. *The Definition and Description of a Presbyter; what he was.*   §. 2. *Inferior to a Bishop in Degree:*   §. 3. *But equal to a Bishop in Order.*   §. 4. *The Reason why there were many Presbyters in a Church.*   §. 5. *Presbyters not necessary to the Constitution of a Church.*   §. 6. *When Presbyters began.*

§. 1. IT will be both needless and tedious to endeavour to prove, that the Ancients generally mention Presbyters distinct from Bishops. Every one, I suppose, will readily own and acknowledge it. The great question which hath most deplorably sharpened and sour'd the Minds of too many, is what the Office and Order of a Presbyter was: About this the World hath been, and still is most uncharitably divided; some equalize a Presbyter in every thing with a Bishop; others as much debase him, each according to their particular Opinions, either advance or degrade him. In many controversies a middle way hath been the safest, perhaps in this the Medium between the two Extremes may be the truest: Whether what I am now going to say, be the true state of the Matter, I leave the Learned Reader to determine; I may be deceived, neither mine Years, nor Abilities, exempt me from Mistakes and Errors: But this I must needs say, That after the most diligent Researches, and impartiallest Enquiries, the following Notion seems to me most plausible, and most consentaneous to Truth; and which, with a great facility and clearness, solves those doubts and Objections, which, according to those other Hypotheses, I know not how to answer. But yet however, I am not so wedded and bigotted to this Opinion, but if any shall produce better, and more convincing Arguments to the contrary, I will not contentiously

defend, but readily relinquish it, since I search after Truth, not to promote a particular Party or Interest.

Now for the better Explication of this Point, I shall first lay down a Definition and Description of a Presbyter, and then prove the Parts thereof.

<sup>h</sup> Now the Definition of a Presbyter may be this: *A Person in Holy Orders, having thereby an inherent Right to perform the whole Office of a Bishop; but being possessed of no Place or Parish, not actually discharging it, without the Permission and Consent of the Bishop of a Place or Parish.*

But lest this Definition should seem obscure, I shall illustrate it by this following Instance: As a Curate hath the same Mission and Power with the Minister whose Place he supplies; yet being not the Minister of that Place, he cannot perform there any Acts of his Ministerial Function, without leave from the Minister thereof: So a Presbyter had the same Order and Power with a Bishop, whom he assisted in his Cure; yet being not the Bishop or Minister of that Cure, he could not there perform any Parts of his Pastoral Office, without the permission of the Bishop thereof: So that what we generally

<sup>h</sup> There are three or four parties, that our Enquirer <sup>1</sup> aims at reconciling, viz. *Church of England-men, Presbyterians, Independents, and Anabaptists.* He began with the *Independents* cause, and in order to incline them and the rest to agree, he has strained antiquity to make it speak *their* sense in the *points of Congregational Dioceses, and the popular right of choosing their own Bishops.* He now proceeds to bring the *Presbyterian* party to a disposition, for compromising matters with such as differ from them, by allowing them the chief and fundamental point, upon which they insist, *the equality of order in the Bishop and the Presbyter.* And to clear his way for this, he defines his Presbyter; “*A person in holy orders, having thereby an inherent right, &c.*” <sup>1</sup> See Enq. Pref.

render Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, would be more intelligible in our Tongue, if we did express it by Rectors, Vicars, and Deacons ; by Rectors, Understanding the Bishops ; and by Vicars, the Presbyters ; the former being the actual Incumbents of a Place, and the latter Curates or Assistants, and so different in Degree, but yet equal in Order.

Now this is what I understand by a Presbyter ; for the Confirmation of which, these two things are to be proved.

I. That the Presbyters were the Bishops, Curates and Assistants, and so inferiour to them in the actual Exercise of their Ecclesiastical Commission.

II. That yet notwithstanding, they had the same inherent Right with the Bishops, and so were not of a distinct specifick Order from them. Or more briefly thus :

1. That the Presbyters were different from the Bishops *in gradu*, or *in degree* ; but yet,

2. They were equal to them in *Ordine*, or *in Order*.

<sup>1</sup> §. 2. As to the first of these ; That Presbyters were

<sup>1</sup> Our learned Author chooses to prove the latter clause of the preceding definition first, viz. that *without the Bishop's leave, a Presbyter could discharge no single part of his functions*. For plainer evidence in the case, he reckons up most of the particular acts relating to it, and evinces, beyond exception, the subjection of the Presbyters to their Bishops, in every ministerial act within their Bishops' jurisdiction. And yet, strange to say, he elsewhere

<sup>2</sup> See §. 2. Obs. 4.

affirms without scruple, that

<sup>2</sup> *Presbyters ruled in those Churches to which they belonged*, and places this *ruling* power of theirs among the several other premises, from whence an equality of order in a Bishop and Presbyter was to be inferred at last, notwithstanding the palpable inequality he had so plainly owned in this particular before. As well might it be said, that kings and viceroys, or any deputed officers of theirs, are one and the same *order* of men, in any civil state, because in some capacities, and

but the Bishop's Curates and Assistants, inferior to them in Degree, or in the actual Discharge of their Ecclesiastical Commission. This will appear to have been, in effect, already proved, if we recollect what has been asserted, touching the Bishop and his Office. That there was but one Bishop in a Church; That he usually performed all the Parts of Divine Service; That he was the general Disposer and Manager of all things within his Diocess, there being nothing done there without his Consent and Approbation: To which we may particularly add,

1. That without the Bishop's leave, a Presbyter could not baptize; Thus saith *Tertullian*,<sup>1</sup> *The Bishop hath the Right of Baptizing, then the Presbyters and Deacons; but yet for the Honour of the Church, not without the Authority of the Bishop.*

And to the same Effect, saith *Ignatius*,<sup>2</sup> *It is not lawful for any one to baptize, except the Bishop permit him.*

2. Without the Bishops's permission, a Presbyter could not administer the Lord's Supper. <sup>3</sup> *That Eucharist, says Ignatius, is only valid, which is performed by the Bishop, or by whom he shall permit; for it is not lawful for any one to celebrate the Eucharist, without leave from the Bishop.*

in subordination to one another, they are all rulers within the same jurisdiction; whereas it is well known that their *order* and *authority*, considered in themselves, are widely different.

<sup>1</sup> *Baptismum dandi habet jus Episcopus, dehinc Presbyteri et Diaconi, non tamen sine Episcopi auctoritate propter Ecclesiae honorem. De Baptism.* p. 602.

<sup>2</sup> *Οὐκ ἐξὸν ἐστιν χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου οὐτε βαπτίζειν. Epist. ad Smirn.* p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> *Ἐκείνη βεβαία εὐχαριστία ἡγεισθε, ἢ ὅπο τὸν ἐπισκόπον οὖσα ἢ ἢ ἀντὸς ἐπιτρέψῃ οὐκ ἐξὸν ἐστιν χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ἀγαπήν ποιεῖν. Epist. ad Smirn.* p. 6.

3. Without the Bishop's Consent, a Presbyter could not preach ; and when he did preach, he could not chuse his own Subject, but discoursed on those Matters which were

<sup>4</sup> Τὰ περὶ τοῦ ἐγγαστριμυθοῦ, φίσιν, ἐξεταζόσθω. *Homil. de Engastrym.* p. 28. Vol. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Aliqui de Presbyteris, nec Evangelii nec loci sui memores sed neque futurum Domini Judicium, neque nunc sibi præpositum Episcopum cogitantes, quod nunquam omnino sub Antecesoribus factum est, cum contumeliam et contemptu præpositi totum sibi vendicent. *Epist. 10. §. 1.* p. 29. Vide etiam *Epist. 11. §. 1.* p. 32. et *Epist. 12. §. 1.* p. 37.

<sup>6</sup> Μηδὲις χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τὶ πρασσότω τῶν ἀνηκόντων εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. *Epist. ad Smirn.* p. 6.

<sup>7</sup> Οὐ λαθέα ἐπισκόπου τὶ πράσσω τῷ διαβόλῳ λατρεύει. *Idem Ibid.* p. 7.

*ever doth any thing without the knowledge of the Bishop, is a Worshipper of the Devil.*

Now had the Presbyters had an equal Power in the Government of those Churches wherein they lived, how could it have been impudent and usurping in them to have perform'd the particular acts of their Ecclesiastical Function, without the Bishop's Leave and Consent ? No, it was not fit or just, that any one should preach, or govern

enjoyed him by the Bishop, as <sup>4</sup> *the Bishop commanded Origen to preach about the Witch of Endor.*

4. Without the Bishop's Permission, a Presbyter could not absolve Offenders ; therefore *Cyprian* <sup>5</sup> severely chides some of his Presbyters, because they dared in his absence, without his Consent and Leave, to give the Church's Peace to some offending Criminals.

But what need I reckon up particulars when in general there was no Ecclesiastical Office performed by the Presbyters, without the Consent and Permission of the Bishop ; So says *Ignatius*, <sup>6</sup> *Let nothing be done of Ecclesiastical Concerns, without the Bishop* ; for <sup>7</sup> *Whoso-*

in a Parish, without the permission of the Bishop or Pastor thereof; for where Churches had been regularly formed under the Jurisdiction of their proper Bishops, it had been an unaccountable Impudence, and a most detestable Act of Schism for any one, tho' never so legally Ordained, to have entred those Parishes, and there to have performed Ecclesiastical Administrations, without the permission of, or which is all one, in Defiance to the Bishops, or Ministers thereof; for though a Presbyter by his Ordination had as ample an inherent Right and Power to discharge all Clerical Offices, as any Bishop in the World had; yet Peace, Unity and Order, oblig'd him not to invade that part of God's Church, which was committed to another Man's Care, without that Man's Approbation and Consent.

So then in this Sense a Presbyter was inferior to a Bishop in Degree, in that having no Parish of his own, he could not actually discharge the particular Acts of his Ministerial Function, without leave from the Bishop of a Parish or Diocess: The Bishops were superior to the Presbyters, in that they were the presented, instituted, and inducted Ministers of their respective Parishes; and the Presbyters were inferior to the Bishops, in that they were but their Curates and Assistants.

§. 3. \* But though the Presbyters were thus different

\* Here the question in debate is stated at once. The words are identical with the former part of our Author's definition of a Presbyter, wherein he says, *A Presbyter is a person in holy orders, having thereby an inherent right to perform the whole office of a Bishop.*

Now, two things directly contrary to the declared sense, as well as language and practice of the primitive Church, are manifestly included in this single proposition. 1st. That the most solemn rites or holy offices, which the primitive Church ever used for promoting any Presbyter into the station of a Bishop, added nothing more to his former character and order, than a right and

from the Bishops in Degree, yet they were of the very same specifick Order with them, having the same inherent

title only to exercise those powers to the full, which were inherent in him before. And,

2dly. That all the clerical offices which any Bishop of the Church could perform, a Presbyter, by virtue of his orders alone, had a right and power invested in him (by the Bishop's leave only) to perform also.

Let this controversy be tried by the evidence of Antiquity on these material points ; and if in both, or either of them, the primitive Church be found to declare a contrary judgment, and their practice as direct a contradiction in the case, it must follow of course, that a Presbyter, in their times, and in their opinion of him, had not an inherent right by his orders to perform the whole office of a Bishop.

To begin with the first of these, I observe, after the example of the Enquirer himself,

(1.) That the same *word*, which all antiquity uses for expressing the promotion of a Layman to a Deacon, or a Deacon to a Presbyter, they used also for the promotion of Presbyters to the station of a Bishop : it is the *ordination* of Bishops, as well as of Priests and Deacons, in the common language of the

<sup>1</sup> See Enq. c. 3. §. 4.

Fathers. This our Enquirer

owns, for he has quoted <sup>1</sup> an authority for it from St. *Cyprian* ; and it is too obvious a matter to need any proof. Hence I argue, to use his own words, *that if the same appellation of a thing be a good proof for the identity of its nature*, then the right of consecrating a Bishop must confer a new order upon him, because the same name is commonly used for it, as for the rite of ordaining a Presbyter, who undoubtedly had a new order thereby conferred upon him. It is from the supposed identity of their names, that our Enquirer tries to prove his Bishops and Presbyters to be of one and the same order ; and the argument would have had some weight in it, if he had proved that a Presbyter was ordinarily, or indeed ever, called a Bishop, shortly after the close of the Apostolical age. But this he has

Right to perform those Ecclesiastical Offices, which the Bishop did, as will appear from these three Arguments.

1. That by the Bishop's permission they discharged all those Offices, which a Bishop did. 2. That they were called by the same Titles and Appellations as the Bishops were : And, 3. That they are expressly said to be of the

not done, and, I am free to say, could not do ; and for want of this, his argument will not amount to the application which I here make of it, since the word *ordination*, for the making of Bishops, has been authentic in all ages of the Church, without any mark of distinction being put upon it. I believe, our Enquirer is the first person who ever ventured to assert, that, in the making of a Bishop, ordination signified in our language a mere *Instalment* : and now again, he

<sup>2</sup> will have the meaning of it to

<sup>2</sup> §. 2. Obs. 4.

be a Presbyter's *Institution* and *Induction* into a cure ; which to have proved, as well as asserted, had been no more than was necessary to his cause.

(2.) As the name, so the rite itself, of constituting a primitive Bishop deserves to be considered. A single Bishop, by the ancient Canons of the Church, might ordain a Presbyter or Deacon. But in order to make a *Bishop*, a whole province of Bishops most commonly assembled, and, by imposition of hands, and prayers, conferred upon him that power and character, with which he had never been invested before. Now if the former rite be the giving of an *order* by a single hand, and the latter nothing more than a licence to use it ; (or, in other words, a mere formal *Instalment* in the Episcopal chair;) then the solemnity itself, the application of an Apostolical rite to it, and the synodical prayer for the Holy Spirit's blessing upon it, are to a purpose so singular, as cannot be paralleled in any other ministerial solemnity in the whole oecconomy of the Christian Church.

(3.) By this *ordination*, the promoted Presbyter became a member of an Ecclesiastical College, distinct from all other officers or ministers in the Church. Hence it is that St. *Cyprian* so peculiarly calls the Bishops his colleagues ; a title which, humble as he

same Order with the Bishops. As to the first of these, That by the Bishop's permission, they discharged all those Offices which a Bishop did; this will appear from that,

1. When the Bishop ordered them, they preach'd. Thus *Origen*, in the beginning of some of his Sermons, tells us, That he was commanded thereunto by the Bishop,

<sup>3</sup> The Enquiry elsewhere affirms the contrary: but without proof, as I shall shew hereafter.

over both, though he was but a co-ordinate brother to the highest of them before. But,

(4.) This promoted Presbyter, from the time he passed under the provincial imposition of hands, acquired a prerogative and jurisdiction parallel to that of God's High Priest among the Jews. Thus St. *Cyprian* makes the rebellion of his Presbyters and others against him, of the same nature with that of *Korah*,

Cum pro episcopatū vigore  
et cathedræ auctoritatis haberes  
potestatem, quā posses de illo  
statim vindicari, habens circa  
hujusmodi homines *præcepta*  
*divina*, cum Dominus Deus in  
Deuteronomio dicit, et homo  
quicunque fuerit in superbiā ut  
non exaudiat sacerdotem, &c.  
*Cypr. Epist. 3. §. 1. Edit. Oxon.*

<sup>5</sup> *Cyp. Ep.* 59. §. 4. Unus in Ecclesiâ ad tempus sacerdos, et ad tempus judex vice Christi.

was, he never once applied to Presbyters or Deacons ; and we know that one immediate effect of this higher function was, that he gained a *ruling power* o-ordinate brother to the highest from the time he passed under the cquired a prerogative and juris- High Priest among the Jews. rebellion of his Presbyters and the nature with that of *Korah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram* against *Aaron* : and he assures <sup>4</sup> *Rogatian*, a Bishop of his province, that a Christian Bishop, like the Jewish High Priest, was divinely authorized to judge and censure rebellious offenders within his jurisdiction. This he applies to his own and *Cornelius's* case, in another <sup>5</sup> Epistle ; where he gives us a farther character of the dignity of his promoted Presbyter, viz. *that he was then become the one judge, as well as the one High Priest, and Christ's vicegerent in the earth*. He is ranked in the number of the *Apostles' suc-*

as particularly when he preached about the Witch of *Endor*; he says, <sup>1</sup> *The Bishop commanded him to do it.*

2. By the permission of the Bishop, Presbyters baptized.

*cessors*, to whom they themselves committed their *Churches*, and delivered up their place of *mastership*, or *magisterial authority* in them. To the same effect <sup>6</sup> *Irenæus* speaks in that very place, which our Enquirer owns related to the supreme Presbyter or Bishop alone. Again St. <sup>7</sup> *Cyprian* exhorts *Cornelius* Bishop of *Rome* to be zealous together with himself for the unity of the *Church*, because it came from the *Lord*, and by the *Apostles* (says he,) to us their successors. <sup>8</sup> *Fir-*  
*milian* styles Bishops the *Apo-*  
*stles' successors by a vicarious*  
*ordination*. And the <sup>9</sup> *Confessor*,  
*Clarus à Mascula*, a Bishop in the *Carthaginian* council under *Cyprian*, says; *The sentence of our Lord Jesus Christ is manifest, who sent his Apostles, and granted to them alone the power which was given to him of the Father, whom we succeed, governing the Church of the Lord with the same power*. Lastly, the promoted Presbyter pre-

<sup>1</sup> Τὰ περὶ τοῦ ἐγγαστριμυθοῦ, φῆσιν, ἔξεταχέσθω. *Homil. de Engastrym.* p. 28. Vol. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Habemus anumerare eos qui ab Apostolis instituti sunt episcopi in ecclesiis—his vel maxime ea [sc. recondita mysteria] traderent, quibus etiam ipsas ecclesias committebant—successores relinquebant, suum ipsorum locum magisterii tradentes, *Iren. lib. 3. cap. 3.*

<sup>7</sup> Ut unitatem à Domino et per Apostolos nobis successoribus traditam, quantum possumus obtinere curemus. *Cypr. Ep. 45. ad Cornel.* p. 88. *Ed. Oxon.*

<sup>8</sup> Et episcopis, qui eis (sc. Apostolis) ordinatione vicariâ successerunt. *Ep. Firmil. inter Ep. Cyp. 75.* p. 225.

<sup>9</sup> Manifesta est sententia Domini nostri Jesu Christi Apostolos suos mittentis, et ipsis solis potestatem à patre sibi datam permittentis, quibus nos successinus, eadem potestate ecclesiam Domini gubernantes. *Council. Carthag. apud Cypr. Suffrag. 79.* p. 242.

<sup>2</sup> Baptismum dandi habet jus  
—Episcopus, dehinc Presbyteri  
et Diaconi, non tamen sine  
Episcopi auctoritate. *De Bap-*  
*tism.* p. 602.

3. By the leave of the Bishop, Presbyters administered the Eucharist, as must be supposed in that saying of *Ignatius*,

<sup>3</sup> Ἐκεῖνη βεβαία εὐχαριστία ἡγείστ-  
θω, ἢ ἵππο τὸν ἐπισκόπου οὖσα, ἢ  
ἄλλη ἀντὸς ἐπιτρέψη—οὐκ ἐξὸν  
ἴστιν χωρὶς του ἐπισκόπου ἀγάπην  
ποιεῖν ἀλλ᾽ ὃ ἀν ἐκεῖνος δοκιμάσῃ.  
*Epist. ad Smirn.* p. 6.

Thus writes *Tertullian*: <sup>2</sup> *The Bishop has the Right of Baptizing, and then the Presbyters, but not without his leave.*

<sup>3</sup> *That that Eucharist only was valid, which was celebrated by the Bishop or by one appointed by him; and that the Eucharist could not be delivered but by the Bishop, or by one whom he did approve.*

4. The Presbyters ruled in those Churches to which they belonged, else this Exhortation of *Polycarpus* to the Presbyters of *Philippi*, would have been in vain; <sup>4</sup> *Let the Presbyters be tender and merciful, compassionate towards all, reducing those that are in Errors, visiting all that are weak, not negligent of the Widow and the Orphan, and him that is*

<sup>1</sup> Προκαθημένου του ἐπισκόπου εἰς  
τόπον Θεου, καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων  
εἰς τόπον συνεδρίου τῶν ἀποστολῶν καὶ  
τῶν διακόνων πεπιστευμένων διακονίαν  
Ιησοῦ Χριστοῦ. *Ignat. Ep. ad Magnes.* §. 6.

sided in the consistory, (to use <sup>1</sup> *St. Ignatius's words,) in the place of God, whilst the Presbyters sat as a college of Apostles under him, and then the Deacons as intrusted with the*

*ministerial service of Jesus Christ.* These and many such characters of a common Presbyter, after ordination by provincial Bishops, are frequently to be met with in the writings of the primitive Fathers, whereof not one of them was attributed to him till that time, or to any in that inferior station wherein he stood before.

*poor, but ever providing what is honest in the sight of God and Men; abstaining from all Wrath, Respect of Persons, and unrighteous Judgment; being far from Covetousness, not hastily believing a Report against any Man, not rigid in Judgment, knowing that we are all faulty, and obnoxious to Judgment.* Hence,

5. <sup>1</sup> They presided in Church-Consistories together with the Bishop, and composed the executive part of the Ecclesiastical Court; from whence it was called *the*

<sup>1</sup> Our Author has already asserted that *Presbyters, by their Ordination, had as ample and inherent right and power to discharge all clerical offices, as any Bishop in the world.* He now contends that they were co-partners with their Bishops in the executive part of the Ecclesiastical Court. *They presided (says he) in Church consistories, and composed the executive part of the ecclesiastical power;* that is, they were joint commissioners in the *judicial power there,* and, so far, *upon a level* with the Bishop himself, in judging causes that came before them. That such was our Enquirer's meaning, appears by his choice of a short quotation from *Tertullian [approved Elders presided;]* which he here applies to his Presbyters sitting in their peculiar consistory, and which he brings forward again in order to prove that Bishops and Presbyters had an equal right and power to *baptize, confirm, and ordain.*

These<sup>2</sup> are indeed material points; and yet they are made to depend chiefly upon a short controverted sentence, with this supposition in the case, viz. that both this and another parallel quotation, (See §. 3. Obs. 9,) *were spoken of the discipline exerted in one particular Church or Parish, in which there was but one Bishop; and if only he had presided, then there could not have been elders in the plural number.*

Now, in examining this supposition, let us consider, 1st, the occasion of *Tertullian's* words; 2dly, the plain sense and meaning of them; and 3dly, let us compare the parallel places, in order to show how they illustrate one another.

<sup>3</sup> Probati præsident Seniores. *Apol.* c. 39. p. 709.

*Presbytery*, because as *Tertullian* says, <sup>5</sup> *Approved Elders did preside.*

<sup>2</sup> Operata sectæ hujus infestatio—odii erga nomen Christianorum. *Apol.* p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Vobis, Romani Imperii Antistes. *Apol. in Exord.*

they lay jointly charged with being a factious sect in the state. Accordingly that part of his *Apology*, wherein he represents the innocent manner both of the Christian discipline and worship, (and whereof the passage in question forms a part,) is prefaced in

<sup>4</sup> Edam jam nunc ego ipse negotia Christianæ factionis. *Cap.* 39.

this *Christian faction*, which is a noun of multitude, must be supposed to comprehend the whole body of Christians; for it was in this sense that the *Roman Governors* understood it, and in the same sense the *Apologist* himself must have meant it, since he professedly undertook to vindicate *all*, and not any single Congregation in some private quarter of the Empire. If we take the passage in any other sense, the *Roman Governors* (whom *Tertullian* addresses generally) will appear to have had but weak motives offered them for ceasing their persecution in every province, and the good *Apologist*, but little regard to the common cause of all his brethren.

But 2dly, As to the plain sense and meaning of the words, *approved Elders preside*, I am willing that the learned Enquirer himself should be his own interpreter and commentator. In ch. 2. §. 2. Obs. 2, he attempts to prove from the testimony of Antiquity, that a Bishop could have had *but one Communion Table in his Diocese*; and, amongst other authorities, he insists strongly

1st. The occasion of the words was this: <sup>2</sup> the Christians were under a general persecution in the *Roman Empire*. *Tertullian*, addressing an *Apology* for them to the several <sup>3</sup> governors of the Empire, vindicates them from censure, as these words: <sup>4</sup> *Now I will show you plainly what this Christian faction is taken up about, or how they are employed.* Surely

upon those words of *Tertullian*,<sup>5</sup> that *Christians received the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper from the hands of the Bishop alone*; or rather, from the hands of those who preside, as the

words ought to be rendered. Now if those who preside, in *Tertullian's* language, must be no other than the supreme *Bishops* themselves, (without which construction, the force of the Enquirer's argument for a Congregational Diocese is entirely lost,) then his *approved presiding Elders*, in the quotation now before us, must necessarily be spoken also of the *Bishops* or Heads of several Churches or Congregations within the *Roman Empire*, because a single one could have had but one such Elder belonging to it, in the declared opinion of the Enquirer himself. I shall trust to this evidence for the plain meaning of the words, and proceed,

3dly, To consider that parallel passage, which in the opinion of our Author, and, as he tells us, of most learned men with him, is of the same import and signification. The passage occurs in a noted epistle of *Firmilian* to St. *Cyprian*, and is thus translated by our Enquirer: <sup>6</sup> All power and grace is constituted in the Church where Seniors preside, who have the power of baptizing, confirming, and ordaining. Now I readily admit, that this passage, and the former one in *Tertullian*, do help to explain one another; and chiefly in the following particulars:

[1.] That whereas there was some question raised from the words of *Tertullian*, whether he were speaking of the collective body of Christians or not; there is no room for any such question here, since the immediate object of *Firmilian's* words was to prove, that out of the *Catholic Church* there was no grace or power given to ratify any one ministerial act whatsoever. It is known to all, who have read that Epistle, that he is there contend-

<sup>5</sup> Nec de aliorum manu, quam præsidentium, sumimus. *Tert. de Coron. Milit. cap. 3. p. 121. Edit. 2. Rigalt.*

<sup>6</sup> Quando omnis potestas et gratia in Ecclesiâ constituta sit, ubi præsident majores natu, qui et baptizandi, et manum impo-nendi, et ordinandi possident potestatem. *Apud Cypr. Ep. 75. §. 6. Edit. Oxon.*

ing for the invalidity of heretical Baptism, against the contrary decree of *Stephen*, Bishop of *Rome*, about it : and that controversy, I presume all men will allow, was between the Catholic Church collectively considered on the one hand, and all manner of heresies and schisms on the other. So that the Church, wherein, as *Firmilian* affirms, the *majores natu*, or *Seniors*, presided, being invested with a fulness of power for executing every Ecclesiastical office in it, was no less than the *Universal Church* of Christ upon earth, as it stood distinguished from all sorts of sects who separated from her. In this particular the parallel passage in *Firmilian* may help a reader to understand, what sort of Church *Tertullian* also meant, wherein his approved Elders presided.

[2.] As to the common word *presiding*, used by both these Fathers alike, it may be observed, that *Tertullian's* notion of a *President*, or *presiding Elder* in a Church, having been so plainly shewn by our Enquirer to be the single or supreme Bishop of the Church in which he presided, may be said, in this particular, to expound *Firmilian's* meaning for us, and to satisfy the reader, that his *presiding Seniors* were no less than such supreme Bishops

<sup>7</sup> Per omnes provincias et per urbes singulas, ordinati sunt episcopi, in *Ætate Antiqui*, in fide integri. *Cypr. Ep.* 55. *p. 112. Edit. Oxon.*

also, conformably to the language of St. *Cyprian*, who says of the Christian Bishops in general, <sup>7</sup> that they were [*ætate antiqui*] *ancient in years*, that is, *seniores*, as well as sound in faith. But,

[3.] Let *Firmilian* be allowed more fully, to explain his own words. He was arguing (as we observed before,) against *Stephen*, Bishop of *Rome*, and his party, who maintained that imposition of hands was sufficient for admitting baptized heretics into the Church, without any further baptism than what they had in their heresy ; and his argument against it runs thus : *How is this, that when we see Paul baptized his disciples again after John's baptism, we should*

<sup>8</sup> *Quale est autem—&c.—nisi si his Episcopis, de quibus nunc,* *make any doubt of baptizing them who return from heresy to the*

6. <sup>m</sup> They had also the Power of Excommunication, as

*Church, after that unlawful and profane baptism of theirs, unless Paul was less than these Bishops, of whom we are <sup>8</sup> now speaking, that these indeed might give the Holy Ghost by imposition of hands alone; but Paul was insufficient for it.*

Here we plainly see what kind of *Seniors* in the Church *Firmilian* was speaking of, and to whom he attributed the right of baptism, imposition of hands, and ordination; for those who were to lay their hands upon the returning heretics, (the immediate subject then in hand) he calls by the proper and express name of *Bishops*, a term incommunicable to any inferior Elders of the Church in that *Cyprianic* age, if we may believe approved <sup>9</sup> antiquaries. It appears then that the *Presbyters' ruling power* in the consistory, as joint-commissioners with their Bishop, cannot be grounded upon the expressions of *Tertullian* and *Firmilian*, since they

have no relation to the private Presbytery of a particular Church; but were manifestly spoken with reference to the single supreme governors, or Bishops of all the several dioceses, either within the *Roman* empire, or the whole Catholic Church. If the *Presbyters* were *presidents* in the primitive Presbyteries, as the application of the above quotations literally makes them to be, I should be glad to know how our Author would dispose of the [Περιουσιδεῖτα, or] right of the *first chair*: for it is by this that he and his friends evade the Bishop's *higher order* in the Church.

<sup>m</sup> Two other instances of *ruling power* in the *Presbyters* are these: they *excommunicated* (says our *Enquirer*) and they *restored penitents to the Church*. The proof of the first is as follows: *Felicissimus, Augendus*, and some others had made a schism in

minor fuit Paulus, ut hi quidem possint per solam manus impositionem venientibus haereticis dare Sp. Sanctum, Paulus autem idoneus non fuerit. *Apud Cypr. Ep. 75. § 6. p. 221. Edit. Oxon.*

<sup>9</sup> See *Bishop Pearson* and *Mr. Dodwell* in Pearson's *Dissert. prima de succes. prim. Rom. Episc. c. 9. p. 97. in 4to. Lond. 1688.*

<sup>6</sup> Vide *Cyprian. Epist.* 38. et 39. p. 90. et 92.

<sup>6</sup> *Rogatianus* and *Numidicus*, Two Presbyters of *Cyprian's* Church, by his Order join'd

St. *Cyprian's* Church. The good Bishop in exile is acquainted with it by two of his Presbyters, (*Rogatianus* and *Numidicus*), whom he had left in joint-commission with two Bishops of the province (*Caldonius* and *Herculanus*) to inspect his diocese during his absence. To these four St. *Cyprian* writes a letter, and having told them what evidence he had of *Felicissimus*'s notorious wickedness, sends this positive order: <sup>1</sup> *Let him receive the sentence which he has first passed himself, that he may know he is excommunicated by us*; (for he had threatened excommunication to such as adhered to St. *Cyprian*) and <sup>2</sup> *Let any other who joins to that faction, know also, that he shall not communicate in the Church with us*. Here is but little consultation with Presbyters, and still less left for them to do. In answer to this letter, *Caldonius*, together with the two Presbyters and other Bishops, sends word to St. *Cyprian*, that <sup>3</sup> *they had shut out Felicissimus, Augendus, and others from their communion*. Now what *Caldonius* and the other Bishops did, shutting out from their Churches, such as St. *Cyprian* had excommunicated from his, is no great matter to us; but that the two Presbyters did nothing more than execute St. *Cyprian's* censure, is a plain matter of fact; and the learned

<sup>1</sup> Accipiat sententiam quam prior dixit, ut abstentum se à nobis sciat. *Cypr. Ep.* 41. *Ed. Oxon.* p. 80.

<sup>2</sup> Sed et quisquis se conspirationi et factioni ejus adjunxerit, sciat se in Ecclesiâ non esse nobiscum communicaturum. *Ib.*

*not communicate in the Church with us*. Here is but little consultation with Presbyters, and still less left for them to do. In answer to this letter, *Caldonius*, together with the two Presbyters and other Bishops, sends word to St. *Cyprian*, that <sup>3</sup> *they had shut out Felicissimus, Augendus, and others from their communion*. Now what *Caldonius* and

<sup>3</sup> Abstinuimus communicatione Felicissimum, Augendum, &c. *Ep.* 41.

the other Bishops did, shutting out from their Churches, such as St. *Cyprian* had excommunicated from his, is no great matter to us; but that the two Presbyters did nothing more than execute St. *Cyprian's* censure, is a plain matter of fact; and the learned

<sup>4</sup> Abstinuimus sententiam à Cypriano latam executioni mandando. *Fel. in loc.*

<sup>4</sup> Bishop *Fell's* note upon the passage, helps to confirm us in this opinion. This excommunicating power of St. *Cyprian's* Presbyters is just

with some Bishops of his Nomination, in the Excommunication of certain Schismatics of his Diocese. But of both these two Heads, more will be spoken in another Place.

7. Presbyters restored returning Penitents, to the Church's Peace. Thus we read in an Epistle of *Dionysius*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, That a certain Offender called *Serapion*, approaching to the time of his Dissolution,  
*1 Sent for one of the Presbyters to absolve him, which the Presbyter did, according to the Order of his Bishop, who had before commanded, That the Presbyters should absolve those who were in danger of Death.*

8. Presbyters Confirmed, as we shall most evidently prove, when we come to treat of Confirmation: Only remark here by the way, That in the Days of *Cyprian*, there was a hot Controversie, Whether those that were baptized by Hereticks, and came over to the Catholic Church, should be received as Members thereof by Bap-

what any vicars or curates in the Church of *England* exercise, when by virtue of an order from their Bishop's court, they deny communion to a censured member, and make their return of it: which appears likewise from the consideration, that *5 St. Cyprian* authorized the very *Deacons*, as well as Presbyters, during his absence, *to receive the penitents' confession, and by the solemn ministerial act of imposition of hands to absolve them, if need required*; that is, to bind or loose them as effectually as if he had done it himself.

*1 Τῶν πρεσβυτέρων μοι τινὰ κάλεσον  
—ἐντολῆς δὲ ὑπ' εμου δεδομένης τοῖς  
ἀπαλλαγτομένοις του βίου ἀφίεσθαι.*  
*Ad Fabium Antioch. apud Eus.*  
*lib. 6. cap. 44. p. 246.*

*5 Hors expectatā præsentia nos-  
trā apud presbyterum quemcun-  
que præsentem, vel si presbyter  
repertus non fuerit, et usque  
exitus cæperit, apud diaconum  
quoque exemplogesin facere de-  
licti sui possit, ut manu eis in  
pœnitentiam imposita veniant  
ad Dominum cum pace. Cypr.  
Ep. 18. Edit. Oxon.*

tism and Confirmation, or by Confirmation alone? Now I would fain know, whether during the vacancy of a See, or the Bishop's absence, which sometimes might be very long, as *Cyprian* was absent two years, a Presbyter could not admit a returning Heretick to the Peace and Unity of the Church, especially if we consider their positive Damnation of all those that died out of the Church? If the Presbyters had not had this Power of Confirmation, many penitent Souls must have been damn'd for the unavoidable Default of a Bishop, which is too cruel and unjust to imagine.

9. As for Ordination. I find but little said of this in Antiquity; yet as little as there is, there are clearer Proofs of the Presbyters Ordaining, than there are of their administering the Lord's Supper:

<sup>1</sup> *Omnis potestas et gratia in Ecclesiâ constituta sit ubi præsident majores natu, qui et baptizandi, et manum imponendi et ordinandi possident potestatem.* *Apud. Cypr. Epist. 75. §. 6. p. 237.*

<sup>1</sup> *All Power and Grace, saith Firmilian, is constituted in the Church where Seniors preside, who have the Power of Baptizing, Confirming, and Ordaining;* or as it may be rendered, and perhaps more

agreeable to the sense of the Place; *Who had the Power as of Baptizing, so also of Confirming and Ordaining.* What these Seniors were, will be best understood by a parallel Place in *Tertullian*: for that Place in *Tertullian*, and this in *Firmilian* are usually cited to expound one another, by

most Learned Men, as by the most Learned <sup>2</sup> Dr. *Cave*, and others. Now the

Passage in *Tertullian* is this; In the Ecclesiastical Courts <sup>3</sup> *approved Elders preside;*

Now by these approved Elders, Bishops and Presbyters must necessarily be understood; because *Tertullian* speaks

<sup>2</sup> Primitive Christianity. *Part 3. cap. 5. p. 379.*

<sup>3</sup> *Probati præsident Seniores. Apol. c. 39. p. 709.*

here of the Discipline exerted in one particular Church or Parish, in which there was but one Bishop ; and if only he had presided, then there could not have been Elders in the Plural Number ; but there being many Elders to make out their Number, we must add the Presbyters to the Bishop, who also presided with him, as we shall more fully shew in another place. Now the same that presided in Church-Consistories, the same also ordained ; Presbyters as well as Bishops presided in Church-Consistories ; therefore Presbyters as well as Bishops Ordained. And as in those Churches where there were Presbyters, both they and the Bishop presided together, so also they Ordained together, both laying on their Hands in Ordination, as St. *Timothy* was Ordained <sup>1</sup> by the laying on of <sup>1 Μετὰ ἐπιστείως τῶν χειρῶν του πρεσβυτερού.</sup> *1 Tim. iv. 14.*

Since a *full* power to ordain could not be found for our Author's Presbyters, he tries to prove their right to a *share* of it, from that noted passage [1 Tim. iv. 14,] where *St. Paul* exhorts *Timothy* not to neglect the gift that was in him, which was given him by prophecy, with the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery. Now *Calvin* himself plainly owns, that <sup>6</sup> a college of Presbyters was not meant, in this place, by the Presbytery, and maintains, from 2 Tim. i. 6, that *St. Paul* alone ordained *Timothy*. And the assembly of *English* divines <sup>7</sup> go so far with him as to admit, that all the gifts which *Timothy* received at his ordination, were from the Apostle's hands. It

cannot be denied that, the two *apparently* contradictory accounts of *Timothy's* ordination, (*with the Presbytery* in one text, and *by St. Paul's own hands* in the other,) have given rise to a

<sup>6</sup> Paulus ipse, se, non alias complures, Timotheo manus impo-  
suisse commemorat.—Quod de impositione manuum *Presbyterii* dicatur, non ita accipio, quasi

Paulus de *seniorum collegio* lo-  
quatur. *Calv. Instit.* l. 4. c. 3.  
*in fine.*

<sup>7</sup> See *Assemb. Annot.* on 2 Tim.  
i. 6.

that is, by the Hands of the Bishop and Presbyters of that Parish where he was Ordained, as is the constant significant variety of opinions on the subject; and therefore it must be but a feeble argument, at the best, which depends on a positive construction of either of those accounts.

Supposing that *Timothy's* ordination is here spoken of, (which, after all, some learned men have questioned,) the utmost that can be deduced from the text before us is this, viz. that one or more of such as were mere *Presbyters* might *lay on their hands* in concurrence with St. Paul, to testify their approbation and consent: which is the custom even now in the ordination of a *Presbyter*, and has

<sup>8</sup> *Vide Bevereg. in Can. Apost. 1. pag. 11. ad finem Col. 2.* sometimes been done at the ordination of a *Bishop*.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>9</sup> See also *Enquiry*, c. 4. §. 6. <sup>9</sup> Our Enquirer asserts, that the constant signification of the word *Presbytery*, in all the writings of the ancients, is such as he here insists upon, that is, it always denotes the *Bishops and Presbyters of a particular Church or Parish*. Now it is very certain that *St. Ignatius* calls the *Apostles alone the Presbytery of the Church*;

for he tells the <sup>1</sup> *Philadelphians*; <sup>1</sup> Προσφνγὴν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις, ὡς (in his way to the crown of πρεσβυτερία ἐκκλησίας. *Ignat. ad Philad.* §. 3. martyrdom,) that he betook himself to the *Apostles*, as the *Presbytery of the Church*.

Since *Timothy* was ordained whilst these supreme *Presbyters* were alive, I know of no fairer comment on the Apostolical phrase of his being ordained *by the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery*, than that he was ordained by a special member of *this Apostolical Presbytery*. And if by more than one, it was neither impossible nor improbable, that some other Apostle, or Apostles, might concur with St. *Paul* in it: especially if we consider, that *Timothy's* first ordination may reasonably be dated from the time that *St. Paul would have him to go forth with him*, *Acts xvi. 3*, no doubt to the work of the ministry, and that at *Derbe* or *Lystra*, not much

<sup>2</sup> above 400 years after the <sup>2</sup> *See Bishop Pearson's Annal.* Gospel was first preached there,

cation of the Word *Presbytery*, in all the Writings of the Ancients. But,

10. ° Though as to every particular Act of the Bishop's Office, it could not be proved particularly, that a Presbyter

when a settled consistory of *Paul.* ab a. d. 46. ad a. d. 50. inferior Presbyters, and a form *inclusive.* of Ecclesiastical discipline, could scarcely be expected to be found amongst them.

How far the Presbyters' part in the ordination mentioned in the sacred text, together with our Author's interpretation of *Tertullian* and *Firmilian's* words, (and which are indeed the only ancient authorities he is pleased to offer,) has proved the power of ordination to be *fully* inherent in *them*; and whether both the one and the other be of sufficient weight to balance the unanimous consent and testimony of the Catholic Church to the contrary, for 1500 years together—this, I think, is no hard matter to determine. We are very sure, that, in all that time, not a single instance can be adduced of a valid ordination by Presbyters. And if ever they had the power of ordination, it does seem strange that they should give up their right, without any complaint, or without so much as leaving any thing upon record, to testify their original authority to after ages.

° To illustrate this, our Author quotes two passages from St. *Cyprian's* letters to his Clergy, wherein he *exhorts, begs, and commands them, to discharge their own and his office also, that so nothing might be wanting either to discipline or diligence:* and again, *that they would, in his stead, perform those offices which the Ecclesiastical dispensation required.* How does it appear from these passages, that the Presbyters *alone* could perform, in the Bishop's stead, all those Ecclesiastical offices which were incumbent on him? The letters from which the quotations are made, are <sup>3</sup> both directed to the Deacons as well as the Presbyters, expressly by name, and the command given to both jointly without any distinction. Dea-

<sup>3</sup> Cypr. Presbyteris et Diaconis fratribus. *Titu. Ep. 5. et 14. Ed. Oxon.*

did discharge them ; yet it would be sufficient, if we could prove, that in the general, a Presbyter could, and did perform them all. Now that a Presbyter could do so, and

cons, together with Presbyters, (as we have already seen,) had been authorized by St. *Cyprian*, in his absence, to discharge some offices for him which the Ecclesiastical discipline required. Why then are they not to be intrusted with such an executive part of his Episcopal power as was here intended ? especially since he says

<sup>4</sup> *Doleo enim quando audio quosdam improbè, &c.—nec à Diaconis aut Presbyteris regi posse.* *Ep. 14.*

in the close of the latter Epistle, <sup>4</sup> *I grieve to hear that my people cannot be governed either by Deacons or Presbyters ;* thereby implying, that he had committed his *governing power*,

so far as could be exercised by a deputation, to both of them. We have in our own Church discipline, a form of words of the same import with the passages under consideration. An *English*

<sup>5</sup> *Accipe curam tuam et meam.* *Priest*, says thus : <sup>5</sup> *Take my Godolph. Repert. Canon. c. 24.*

*Bishop*, instituting a Parochial *Priest*, says thus : <sup>5</sup> *Take my cure upon you, and your own too.*

I believe no man ever imagined that the instituted Clerk had hence a power to visit, confirm, or ordain, in any one part of the Diocese ; and yet a trust of *his Bishop's cure*, according to our Author's way of reasoning, would infer as much. But in truth there is a clause in St. *Cyprian's* commission to his Presbyters and Deacons, which clears the point in question. *Perform such offices* (says he) *for yourselves and me, as the Ecclesiastical dispensation requires* : that is, perform as much of it as your orders and station in the Church allow. Could our Author have proved, that the Presbyters or Deacons had *ordained* one single person in St. *Cyprian's* absence, by virtue of this great trust reposed in them, it had been something to the purpose : but nothing of the kind is to be met with in St. *Cyprian's* works, or in any collateral history ; on the contrary, it appears that

<sup>6</sup> *St. Cyprian himself ordained, in Vide Cyp. Ep. 29, 38, 39, &c.* his retirement, such as the necessities of the Church required.

consequently by the Bishop's permission did do so, will appear from the Example of the great Saint *Cyprian*, Bishop of *Carthage*, who being exil'd from his Church, writes a Letter to the Clergy thereof; wherein he exhorts and begs them <sup>2</sup> to discharge *their own and his Office too*, *that so nothing might be wanting either to Discipline or Diligence*. And much to the same Effect he thus writes

<sup>3</sup> *Trusting therefore to your Kindness and Religion, which I have abundantly experienced, I exhort and command you by these Letters, that in my stead you perform those Offices which the Ecclesiastical Dispensation requires.* And in a Letter written upon the same Occasion, by the Clergy of the Church of *Rome*, to the Clergy of the Church of *Carthage*, we find these Words towards the beginning thereof.

<sup>4</sup> *And since it is incumbent upon us, who are as it were Bishops, to keep the flock in*

<sup>2</sup> *Fungamini illic et vestris partibus ac meis, ut nihil vel ad disciplinam, vel ad diligentiam desit.* *Epist. 5. §. 1. p. 15.*

them in another Letter,

<sup>3</sup> *Fretus ergo et dilectione et religione vestrâ, quam satis novi, his literis et hortor, et mando, ut vos—vice meâ fungamini circa gerenda ea, quæ administratio religiosa deposcit.* *Epist. 6. §. 2. p. 17.*

<sup>4</sup> *Et cum incumbat nobis, qui videmur præpositi esse, et vice*

<sup>5</sup> To the two quotations from St. *Cyprian's* letters, our Author adds a third from a letter written by the Presbyters at *Rome* to the Presbyters of *Carthage*. Both Churches, at that time, were without a Bishop, *Fabianus of Rome* having been recently martyred in the *Decian* Persecution, and St. *Cyprian* having retired upon that account. The *Carthaginian* Presbyters, on this mournful occasion, write to their brethren at *Rome*; and they, in answer to them, write thus: *Since it is incumbent on us, who seem to be Governours, and to keep the flock instead of a pastor; if we should be found negligent, it will be said to us, as it was to those careless Governours [the shepherds of *Israel*] before*



pastoris custodire gregem, si negligentes inveniamur, dicetur nobis quod et antecessoribus nostris dictum est, qui tam negligentes præpositi erant: quoniam perditum non requisivimus, et errantem non correxi-  
mus, et claudum non colligavimus, et lac eorum edebamus, et lanis eorum operiebamur. *Apud Cyprian. Epist. 3. §. 1. p. 11.*

*the room of the Pastor: If we shall be found negligent, it shall be said unto us, as it was said to our careless preceding Bishops, in Ezekiel 34. 3, 4. That we looked not after that which was lost, we did not correct him that wandered, nor bound up him that was lame, but we did eat their Milk, and were covered with their Wool.*

*us, Ezek. xxxiv. 3. 4; that we looked not after that which was lost, we did not correct him that wandered, nor bound up him that was lame; but we did eat their milk, and were covered with their wool.* The Presbyters, in these Churches, having no Bishop amongst them, *seemed themselves to be, as it were, Bishops of the Churches, and therefore, they not only seemed so, but (according to our Enquirer) in power and order actually were so, even as much as any before them had ever been, or the next in succession could be: for thus much the argument supposes.*

Supposing the case were as our Enquirer states, I wish to be informed what those *very Presbyters* meant, by telling St. *Cyprian*,

<sup>7</sup> Quanquam nobis differendæ hujus rei *necessitas* major incumbat, quibus—nondum est *Episcopus* constitutus, qui omnia ista moderetur, et eorum, qui lapsi sunt, *possit cum auctoritate et consilio habere rationem. Cyp. Ep. 30. §. 6. Ed. Oxon.*

*7 that a greater necessity lay upon them, to put off the restitution of the lapsed in their Church for the present, because they had no Bishop amongst them, who should order all those things, and could with authority and counsel take a proper course with them.* It seems

those Presbyters were conscious of a peculiar *authority* in a Bishop, which was wanting in themselves; and, in the quotation before us, they say no more of themselves, than that they were *seemingly* the governors of the Church, or, as it were Bishops in it:

So that the Presbyters were as it were Bishops, that in the Bishop's Absence kept his Flock, and in his stead performed all those Ecclesiastical Offices, which were incumbent on him.

phrases, by no means unsuitable for such *guardians of the spiritualities*, as Dean and Chapter usually have been, and, in many cases, still are, for a vacant See. The *order* indeed of such Trustees is different from his, who in a little time is to put an end to their trust ; but still they do all, which for a time, may be *necessary*, though not every act of clerical or ministerial power, which a proper officer, when invested with that power, can do. To those who peruse the Epistle before us without prejudice, this would appear to be the very meaning intended by the *Roman* Presbyters ; for they specify, as well as mention in general, the care which was incumbent on them ; but they say nothing of supplying the Church, in case of necessity, with newly ordained ministers, or confirming after Baptism, or the like. What sort of care then do they mention ? Why, that *of exhortations to the flock not to fall away ; to administer to the wants of all ; to give Christian Burial to the Martyrs*. And they give one piece of advice to the *Carthaginian* Presbyters, which may help to solve a difficulty in the present argument ; they exhort them after their example, <sup>8</sup> *to move the lapsed to repentance, if peradventure they might obtain their absolution from him who was able to give it.* This must either be meant of God alone, (since Absolution of Apostates to idolatry had not yet been decreed in the Church, as Bishop *Fell* remarks,) or, at least it must signify that the Presbyters themselves could not absolve, for want of that autho-

<sup>8</sup> Non minimum periculum incumberet, si non hortati fueritis fratres vestros stare in fide immobiles—separatos à nobis—hortanur agere poenitentiam, si quo modo indulgentiam poterunt recipere ab eo qui potest præstare.—Si qui cœperint apprehendi infirmitate, et agant poenitentiam facti sui, et desiderent communionem, utique subveniri eis debet.—Corpora martyrum si non sepeliantur, grande periculum imminet eis quibus incubit hoc opus—faciat Deus—ut omnes

Now then if the Presbyters could supply the place of an Absent Bishop, and in general discharge all those Offices, to which a Bishop had been obliged, if he had been present; it naturally follows that the Presbyters could discharge every particular Act and part thereof. If I should say, such an one has all the Senses of a Man, and yet also assert that he cannot see, I should be judged a Self-contradictor in that Assertion; for in affirming that he had all the Human Senses, I also affirmed, that he saw, because Seeing is one of those Senses. For whatsoever is affirmed of an Universal, is affirmed of every one of its Particulars. So when the Fathers say, that the Presbyters performed the whole Office of the Bishop, it naturally ensues, that they <sup>9</sup> Confirmed, Ordained, Baptized, &c. because those are Particulars of that Universal.

nos in *his operibus* inveniamur. *Cyp. Ep. 8. Edit. Oxon. p. 17. 18.*

<sup>9</sup> Additum est—ut lapsis infirmis et in *exitu constitutis pax daretur*; Quæ literæ per totum mundum missæ sunt, et in notitiam Ecclesiis omnibus et universis fratribus perlatæ sunt. *Cyp. ad Anton. Ep. 55. p. 102. Ed. Oxon.*

could do all that a Bishop did, I must again leave with the Reader to determine.

<sup>9</sup> *Presbyters*, says our Enquirer, *confirmed*. This he promises [§. 3. Obs. 8] most evidently to prove in another place, meaning, no doubt, the second part of his Enquiry: where he asserts that Confirmation was a mere part of Christian Baptism, and withal the very same thing with absolution of penitents; he then con-

rity, which, according to their own confession, belonged to the Bishop only. But, forasmuch as the Catholic Church had solemnly <sup>9</sup> agreed that *her* peace should be given to *all* in the dying hour, by that general authority from Episcopal power, they so far practised themselves, and advised the *Carthaginian* Presbyters to do likewise. Whether the above three authorities prove that Presbyters

cludes, that *since Presbyters could baptize and absolve, they could also confirm.* He tells us, that (according to some of the primitive Fathers) *Unction, Signation, and Imposition of hands,* followed immediately after Baptism. He might have added, that baptized persons were forthwith introduced into the sacred *Synaxis*, or solemn assembly of the faithful, to join in all the service of the Church, and receive the holy Eucharist, before they parted. Were all these a mere part or appendage of their baptism, because so immediately following upon it?

But not to insist on words, which are *common* to several rites and ministrations in the primitive Church, and therefore conclude nothing of themselves, let us take a view of Confirmation, as drawn up for us by St. *Cyprian*:

*9 They who believed in Samaria (he says) had believed with a true faith, and were baptized within the pale of the Church, (which is one, and to which alone authority was given to confer the grace of baptism, and to forgive sins,) and that by Philip the Deacon, whom the same Apostle had sent forth; and therefore since they had a lawful and Ecclesiastical Baptism, they ought not to be any further baptized. But only what was wanting, (plainly after their lawful and Ecclesiastical Baptism,) that was done by Peter and John, viz. that by prayer offered up for them, and by imposition of hands, the Holy Spirit should be called upon, and poured forth upon them. The same which is in use also amongst us at this day, where such as are baptized in the Church are pre-*

*9 Illi qui in Samariâ crediderant, fide verâ crediderant, et intus in Ecclesiâ, quæ una est, et cui soli gratiam baptismi dare, et peccata solvere, permisum est, a Philippo diacono, quem iidem Apostoli miserant, baptizati erant. Et idcirco, quia legitimum et ecclesiasticum baptisma consecuti fuerant, baptizari eos ultra non oportebat: Sed tantummodo quod deerat; id a Petro et Johanne factum est, ut oratione pro eis habitâ, et manu impositâ, invocaretur infunderetur super eos Spiritus Sanctus. Quod nunc quoque apud nos geritur, ut qui in Ecclesiâ baptizantur, præpositis Ecclesiae offerantur, et per nostram orationem ac manus impositionem Spiritum Sanctum consequantur, et signaculo Dominicâ consummentur. Cyp. ad Jubaian. Ep. 73. p. 202. Ed. Ox.*

sented to the governors of the Church, that by our prayer and imposition of hands, they might receive the Holy Spirit, and be consummated by the seal of the Lord.

A few plain questions may help to clear up this passage :

1. Did St. *Cyprian* believe St. *Philip*'s Baptism to be imperfect, when he was sent forth by the Apostles themselves for the very purpose of Baptizing ?

2. Would *Cyprian* call a *defective Baptism, a lawful and Ecclesiastical one* ? Does he not hereby say, in effect, that the lawgiver himself (the blessed *Jesus*) and the Church too, would own it for *their Baptism* ?

3. Did St. *Peter* and St. *John* go to *Samaria*, to perform a ministerial office which *Philip* could have performed without them ?

4. Could St. *Cyprian* say, *they continued the same practice in his time*, if the baptizing ministers *then*, either did, or could, as effectually lay hands on those whom they baptized, as *those very governors* of the Church, to whom (as he affirms) baptized persons were presented at *Samaria*, that, *by prayer and imposition of hands, they might receive the Holy Spirit, and be consummated by the seal of the Lord* ?

5. Since Presbyters, as well as Deacons, unquestionably baptized in St. *Cyprian's* time, what could the Catholic Church, or the holy Martyr, mean by the general custom of presenting baptized persons to *such governors* of the Church, as St. *Cyprian* himself was, (for he says, *our prayer and imposition of hands*,) what could they mean, if *any* who had the power of baptizing by virtue of their orders, might have confirmed also ? Or how indeed could the parallel hold in the comparison, if the difference between such *præpositi*, or governors of the Church and the baptizing ministers in St. *Cyprian's* time, bore no analogy to that which was between St. *Philip* and the Apostles, from whence (as we are told) the precedent was taken ?

I can conceive no answer to these questions, sufficient to set aside the evident truth contained in St. *Cyprian's* words, namely, that there was a sacred ministerial rite then practised in the Church, *after* Baptism, and distinct from it—imposition

But now from the whole we may collect a solid Argument for the Equality of Presbyters with Bishops as to

of hands and prayers the principal and constant symbols of it—the right and power of administering it not inherent in the powers or orders of any baptizing ministers, (*as such,*) but peculiar to the highest order in the Church, and appropriated to them alone.

We have considered our Enquirer's first general argument for the equality of Presbyters with Bishops, as to order.

It seems pretty evident, I think, that Presbyters were invested with important trusts in the Church; partly as the Bishop's Curates (to use our Enquirer's own term) in such portions of his general ministerial charge, as he should commit to them; and partly, as proper and usual delegates to execute some extraordinary parts of the peculiar Episcopal power, by his authority and commission; which things sufficiently required that they should be *upright, merciful, sincere persons, impartial in judgment of men and things, not hastily receiving reports, or rigid in judging of any.*

<sup>1</sup> See Polycarp's Ep. ad Philip. §. 5. ad finem vit. Polycarp. in Dr. Cave.

At the same time, I trust, it is no less evident, by what has been said on the subject:

1st. That Presbyters neither did, nor could, discharge all offices which their Bishops did, even with their permission, particularly those of *Ordination* and *Confirmation*.

Order ; for if a Presbyter did all a Bishop did, what difference was there between them ? A Bishop preached, baptized and confirmed, so did a Presbyter. A Bishop excommunicated, absolved and ordained, so did a Presbyter : Whatever a Bishop did, the same did a Presbyter ; the particular Acts of their Office was the same ; the only difference that was between them was in Degree ; but this proves there was none at all in Order.

2. <sup>5</sup> That Bishops and Presbyters were of the same Order, appears also, from that originally they had one and

If every one of the clerical acts here specified by the Enquirer still appears to be inherent in his Presbyters, by virtue of their orders alone, then his ingenious comparison may pass : viz. that, as a man who can truly be said to have all his senses, must of necessity be allowed *to see* ; so Presbyters, who can do all that a Bishop could do, may be owned (as to all these clerical capacities) to have received an *Episcopal* character in their ordination. But if there be any act or acts, which they neither did, nor could do, then though we may own them to be as perfect in their *kind* as any order of ministers in the Church, yet they will as certainly want something to complete their *Episcopal character and order*, as a blind or deaf man wants something to perfect all his senses.

<sup>5</sup> We now come to our Enquirer's second general argument for the equality of order in Bishop and Presbyter ; it is this, viz. *that Presbyters were originally called by the same titles and appellations, as the Bishops themselves, and therefore were of the same order.*

The Scriptures teach us, that when the Apostles had founded Churches, they ordained Elders for each of them ; and charged those Elders to preach the word, and administer the Sacraments amongst them, or (to use St. Paul's language) *to take heed to themselves and all the flock, over which the Holy Ghost (by orders and commission from the Apostles' hands) had made them Overseers, (or Bishops, as the word is now rendered in our trans-*

the same Name, each of them being indifferently called Bishops or Presbyters. Hence we read in the Sacred

lation, *Philip.* i. 1. 1 *Tim.* iii. 2. *Tit.* i. 7;) and to feed the *Church of God*, as good shepherds ought to do. No doubt, the titles suited with the charge and ministry committed to them; and, as they were Ecclesiastical officers, and commonly not novices in years, they were likewise properly called, in the ancient language of the Synagogue, *Presbyters of the Church*. Accordingly we find both these titles indifferently applied to them at that time; though nothing is plainer in Scripture, than that the Apostles reserved to themselves the prerogative of a ruling power, kept a rod of discipline in their own hands; censured such as deserved it, 1 *Cor.* iv. 21; delivered unto Satan the disorderly among them, that is, excommunicated their members, 1 *Cor.* v. 5. and 1 *Tim.* i. 20; expected whole Churches to be obedient to them in all things, 2 *Cor.* ii. 9; and, in short, had the supreme cure of all the Churches in their own hands, 2 *Cor.* xi. 28. Moreover, all the elders, who were ordained in any Church, (before *Timothy* and *Titus*'s special commissions,) had the *Apostles' hands laid upon them*; nor is *confirmation*, or *giving of the Spirit by imposition of hands*, mentioned throughout the New Testament, but by the *Apostles alone*. This great prerogative of power the Apostles still retained. No titles of *Presidents*, *Governours*, *Bishops*,<sup>2</sup> *Pastors*, or the like,<sup>2</sup> attributed to the Presbyters, or Elders,<sup>3</sup> under them, lessened it in the least, or brought it into question. Their superior character was confessed by all. So that during their lives or personal government, these titles might safely and properly be used promiscuously for any of their subordinate ministers; whereof they ordained many, (as our<sup>3</sup> Enquirer believes,) in particular Churches.

<sup>2</sup> Προϊστάμενοι, 1 *Thess.* v. 12.  
 'Ηγούμενοι, *Heb.* xiii. 17. Ἐπί-  
 σποντοι, *Acts* xx. 28.

<sup>3</sup> See *Enquiry*, c. 4. §. 6.

But before the Apostles died, or when Providence removed them from a personal visitation of their several Churches in this or the other province, (as we learn from the earliest Ecclesiastical

writ of several Bishops in one particular Church, as the records,) they ordained many single persons over large cities and Churches. Thus (as our Enquirer observes from *Tertullian*) St. John placed Polycarp in the Church of Smyrna, and St. Peter ordained Clement for the Church of Rome: and *Tertullian* adds,

<sup>4</sup> *Perinde utique et cæteræ exhibent, quos ab Apostolis in Episcopatum constitutos Apostolici seminis traduces habeant. Tertul. de præscript. p. 243. Edit. secunda Rigalt. Lutet. 1641.*

<sup>5</sup> *Iren. l. 3. c. 3.*

<sup>6</sup> *See Bishop Pearson's proof of the time when Timothy was left at Ephesus.*

Presbyters before,) and *Titus* for *Crete*. These had a special commission to ordain Elders, *1 Tim.* iii. 15. *2 Tim.* ii. 2. *Tit.* i. 5; to rebuke and censure them as well as others, *1 Tim.* v. 19. and that with all authority, *Tit.* ii. 15; to judge of doctrine, and reject heretics; in short, to set in order the things which were wanting, *Tit.* i. 5. (the words by which St. *Paul* elsewhere expresses his *Apostolical power*, *1 Cor.* xi. 34.) So personal was this charge that the Apostle solemnly enjoined *Timothy* (and no others with him,) *before God, and the Lord Jesus Christ, and the elect angels, to observe these things without partiality*; and as a special reason for investing him with this fulness of power, and for enjoining him so strictly to watch and make a full proof of his ministry, St. *Paul* adds in conclusion: *for I am ready to be offered, and the time of my departure is at hand*, *2 Tim.* iv. 6: as much as to say, And now this former care of mine must be yours.

It appears then, that these singular Presidents of the several

<sup>4</sup> *the rest of the Churches could prove their Bishops to be derived from the Apostles in the same manner*, and calls those Episcopal Sees, *the Apostles' chairs*; according to what <sup>5</sup> *Irenæus* tells us, viz., that *the Apostles delivered the Church to those single Bishops, and their locus magisterii, or place of government, with them*. It is plain from Scripture, that *Timothy* was ordained such an Ecclesiastical governour for *Ephesus*,

<sup>6</sup> (where there were many

<sup>1</sup> *Bishops* of Ephesus, and <sup>1</sup> Ἐπισκόπους. 20. *Actor.* v. 28.  
<sup>2</sup> *Philippi*, that is, the Bi- <sup>2</sup> Ἐπισκόποις. 1. *Phil.* 1.

Churches had sundry parts of the Apostles' *reserved supreme power* conferred upon them; and such as had never been imparted to Presbyters of any denomination before, so far as Scripture and primitive Antiquity can inform us. They take possession of the Churches assigned them, having either been inducted by the Apostles personally, or having shewn full credentials from them. In all or most of those Churches they must have found Presbyters ministering at that time, as they had ministered all along, in entire subordination to the Apostles' supremacy over them—Presbyters, who, together with the whole Church, on receiving such newly-commissioned Presidents amongst them, must have clearly seen by their exercise of those *reserved Apostolic powers* of *ruling, ordination, censure, &c.*, that they had an authentic right to succeed to the jurisdiction and prerogatives of their *departing Apostle*. This is a plain reason why the first order of Ecclesiastics in the primitive Church were called the *Apostles' successors*, and were thought worthy of a title distinct from all others.

The title of *Apostle*, indeed, was not thought unsuitable by many of the Primitive <sup>7</sup> writers: thus *Tertullian* calls them *the offspring of the Apostolic seed*. But for the sake of distinction, and out of reverence to the inspired Apostles, the primitive Church thought proper to decline that title; and amongst the several appellations, common to many Ecclesiastical officers before, they appropriated that of *Bishop* to them. Hence St. *Ignatius* declares, at the very close <sup>8</sup> of the Apostolic age, that *every Christian Church, to the very utmost bounds of all, had a supreme governour of that peculiar name, by which he was then known.*

<sup>7</sup> Ὁ ἀποστόλος Κλήμης, says Clemens Alex. speaking of Clemens Bishop of Rome. Stromat. lib. 4. p. 516. Cologn. 1688. See Blondel's *Quotations of several such instances in his Apol.* p. 85.

<sup>8</sup> Ἐπισκόποι οἱ κατὰ τὰ πέρατα δισοδέντες ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ γνωμῆ εἰσιν. Ep. ad Polycarp. §. 3.

shops and Presbyters of those Churches, as they were afterwards distinctly called. And *Clemens Romanus* sometimes mentions many Bishops in the Church of *Corinth*, whom at other times he calls by the Name of Presbyters, using those two Terms as Synonymous Titles and Appellations.

<sup>3</sup> *Epist. 1. ad Corinth.* p. 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 30.

<sup>3</sup> *You have obeyed*, saith he, *those that were set over you*, *τοῖς ἡγουμένοις ἡμῶν*, and <sup>4</sup> *Let us revere those that are set over us*, *πρεσβυτούμενοις*

*ἡμῶν*, which are the usual Titles of the Bishops; and yet

<sup>5</sup> *Πρεσβύτεροι.* *Ibid.* p. 62.

<sup>6</sup> *Καθεσταμένων πρεσβυτέρων.* *Ib.* p. 69.

<sup>7</sup> *Ὑποτάγητε τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις.* *Ibid.* p. 73.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 58.

these in another place he calls <sup>5</sup> *Presbyters*, describing their Office, by <sup>6</sup> *their sitting, or presiding over us*. Wherefore he commands the *Corinthians* <sup>7</sup> *to be subject to their Presbyters*, and whom in one Line he calls <sup>8</sup> *ἐπίσκοποι*,

or Bishops; the second Line after he calls *πρεσβύτεροι*, or Presbyters. So *Polycarp* exhorts the *Philippians* *to be subject to their Presbyters and Deacons*, under the name of Presbyters, including both Bishops and Priests, as we now call them.

The first that expressed these Church-Officers by the distinct Terms of Bishops and Presbyters, was *Ignatius*, who lived in the beginning of the Second Century, appropriating the Title of Bishop, *ἐπίσκοπος*, or Overseer, to that Minister who was the more immediate Overseer and Governour of his Parish; and that of *πρεσβύτερος*, Elder or Presbyter, to him who had no particular Care and Inspection of a Parish, but was only an Assistant or Curate to a Bishop that had; the word *ἐπίσκοπος* or Bishop, denoting a Relation to a Flock or Cure, *πρεσβύτερος* or Presbyter, signifying only a Power or an Ability to take the Charge

of such a Flock or Cure; the former implying an actual discharge of the Office, the latter a Power so to do.

This Distinction of Titles arising from the difference of their Circumstances, which we find first mentioned in *Ignatius*, was generally followed by the succeeding Fathers, who for the most Part distinguish between Bishops and Presbyters; though sometimes according to the primitive Usage they indifferently apply those Terms to each of those Persons.

Thus on the one Hand the Titles of Presbyters are given unto Bishops; as *Irenæus* in his Synodical Epistle, twice calls *Anicetus*, *Pius*, *Higynus*, *Telesphorus*, and *Xistus* Bishops of *Rome*, <sup>1</sup> πρεσβύτεροι, or *Presbyters*. And those

<sup>1</sup> Apud Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 24. p. 193.

<sup>2</sup> Bishops who derived their Succession immediately from the Apostles, he calls, the Presbyters in the Church; and whom *Clemens Alexandrinus* in one Line calls the Bishop of a certain City not far from *Ephesus*, a few Lines after he calls <sup>3</sup> the *Presbyter*.

<sup>2</sup> Qui in ecclesiâ sunt Presbyteri —qui cum episcopatûs successione, &c lib. 4. cap. 43. p. 277.

<sup>3</sup> πρεσβύτερος. Apud Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 24. p. 193.

And on the other hand, the Titles of Bishops are ascribed to Presbyters, as one of the Discretive Appellations of a Bishop is *Pastour*. Yet *Cyprian* also calls his Presbyters <sup>1</sup> the *Pastors of the Flock*. Another was that of

<sup>1</sup> Pastores ovium. Epist. 11. §. 1. p. 33.

President, or one set over the People. Yet *Cyprian* also calls his Presbyters <sup>2</sup> *Pre-sidents, or set over the People*.

<sup>2</sup> Præpositi. Ibidem.

The Bishops were also called *Rectors* or *Rulers*. So *Origen* calls the Presbyters <sup>3</sup> the <sup>3</sup> Ἀρχοντες τοῦ λαοῦ. *Comment. Governours of the People.* in *Matth.* Vol. 1. p. 246.

And we find both Bishops and Presbyters included under the common Name of Presidents or Prelates, by St.

<sup>4</sup> *Et cum omnes omnino disciplinam tenere oporteat, multò magis Præpositos et Diaconos curare hoc fas est, qui exemplum et documentum cæteris de conversatione et moribus suis præbeant.* *Epist. 62. §. 2. p. 169.*

*Cyprian*, in this his Exhortation to *Pomponius*, <sup>4</sup> *And if all must observe the Divine Discipline, how much more must the Presidents and Deacons do it, who by their Conversation and Manners must yield a good Example to others?*

<sup>5</sup> Now if the same Appellation of a thing be a good proof for the Identity of its Nature, then Bishops and Presbyters must be of the same Order, because they had the same Names and Titles. Suppose it was disputed, whether a Parson and Lecturer were of the same order, would not this sufficiently prove the Affirmative? That though for some Accidental Respects they might be distinguished in their Appellations, yet originally and frequently they were called by one and the same Name. The same it is in this Case, though for some contingent and adventitious Reasons Bishops and Presbyters were discriminated in

<sup>6</sup> It has already been shewn, that the names of *Presbyter and Bishop* were indifferently used throughout the Apostolic age, without any danger of being misunderstood. Afterwards one of them was appropriated to the supreme governors of the Church, whose peculiar character and powers required it, and has so continued ever since. Had our learned Enquirer therefore proved that his Presbyters were indifferently styled *Bishops* in the familiar language of the Church, *after* the Apostolic age he had done far more for his scheme, than his collection of equivocal titles can possibly do. Any reasonable man will grant, that one incommunicable title used to denote a superior *order*, is as much as the highest *orders* of men in human society ordinarily

their Titles, yet originally they were always, and afterwards sometimes, called by one and the same Appellation ; and therefore we may justly deem them to be one and the same Order.

But if this Reason be not thought cogent enough, the Third and last will unquestionably put all out of doubt, and most clearly evince the Identity or Sameness of Bishops and Presbyters, as to Order ; and that is, that it is expressly said by the Ancients, That there were but two distinct Ecclesiastical Orders, *viz.* Bishops and Deacons, or Presbyters and Deacons ; and if there were but these two, Presbyters cannot be distinct from Bishops, for then there would be three. Now that there were but two Orders, *viz.* Bishops and Deacons, is plain from that Golden Ancient Remain of *Clemens Romanus*, wherein he

bear, whilst they have many inferior ones besides, in common with others.

It seems then that the Apostles, in planting the early Churches, ordained but two orders to take charge of them. In the mean time, what were the *Ordainers themselves*? Were they of *no* order in the Church, or were they of the *same* order with either of the two that they ordained ? If they were neither the one nor the other, it is plain that, in their time, there were three orders. The Apostles had a reserved power of government both in general, and in special ministerial acts, which they did not impart to all the Presbyters or Bishops that they at first ordained. If any time therefore could be assigned, or any general grant produced, when or whereby it might appear, that they conferred or bequeathed those reserved powers (so necessary to the Church) to *all* the Presbyters they ever ordained ; we should be informed in what part of Scripture, or in what record of the Church, such an important grant may be found. If no such evidence can be adduced, then the above mentioned grants to particular Presidents over many Churches, made by their own *act* and *deed*, infer such a manifest translation

<sup>1</sup> Κατὰ χώρας οὖν καὶ πόλεις κη-  
ρύσσοντες καθιστανον τὰς ἀπαρχὰς  
αὐτῶν εἰς ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους  
τῶν μελλόντων πιστεύειν καὶ τοῦτο

thus writes, <sup>1</sup> *In the Country and Cities where the Apostles preached, they ordained their first Converts for Bishops*

of their own third power, with the reserved acts peculiar to it, as I think can be adduced by no ministers in the Church besides. To say that the Apostles had no successors to any ordinary and permanent prerogatives of theirs, is plainly to contradict all antiquity; as it likewise is to say, that the primitive Fathers owned any ministers in the Church to be such, besides those whom they peculiarly called Bishops after them. The conferring of their reserved ordinary powers of Government, Ordination, Confirmation, Censure, &c., served to continue their third order in their Episcopal successors. Nor is what St. *Clemens* says at all inconsistent with this: for he tells us, that the Apostles ordained Bishops and Deacons, or Presbyters and Deacons, to take charge of the respective flocks, which either were or should be further provided for them, knowing very well, that the Apostles who ordained them were of a superior order: his words therefore have no respect to the number of orders in the Church—nor indeed did the argument in hand require it—his only business was to deter the unruly *Corinthians* from rebelling against the Presbyters of the Church, because they were of Apostolical Institution, and on that account as much of God's appointment, as the Tribe of *Levi* were for the sacred ministry of the *Jewish Church*: which is therefore so particularly described in all the orders and offices

of it, and so <sup>9</sup> closely applied to the Christian Dispensation, that an impartial reader would rather infer the existence of three orders in both, than imagine that *Clemens* had entertained any idea of only two orders in either. *Clemens* himself was undoubtedly such a single successor as we have been

<sup>9</sup> Τῶ γὰρ ἀξιεζεῖ ἴδιαι λειτουργίαι  
δεδομέναι εἰσι καὶ τοῖς ιερεῦσιν Ἰος  
ὁ τότος προστέτακται, καὶ Λευίταις  
ἴδιαι διακονίαι ἐπίκεινται. ὁ λαϊκὸς  
ἀνδρεπος τοῖς λαϊκοῖς προστάγμασιν  
δέδεται. "Ἐκαστος ὑμῶν, ἀδελφοί,  
ἐν τῷ ἴδιῳ τάγματι ἐνχαριστείτω  
Θεῷ ἐν ἀγαθῇ συνειδόσι, μὴ παρε-  
ζαίνων τον ἀξιομένον της λειτουργίας

and Deacons, over those who should believe: Nor were these Orders new; for for many Ages past it was thus prophesied concerning Bishops and Deacons, I will appoint their Bishops in Righteous-

οὐ κακῶν, ἐκ γὰρ δὴ πολλῶν χρόνων ἐγίγεαπτο περὶ ἐπισκόπων καὶ διακόνων, οὕτως γὰρ ποὺ λέγει ἡ γεραφὴ, καταστήσω τοὺς ἐπισκόπους αὐτῶν ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ τοὺς διακόνους\* αὐτῶν ἐν πίστει. *Epist. 1. ad Corinth. p. 54.*

ness, and their Deacons in Faith. This place of Scripture which is here quoted, is in *Isa. 60. 17.* *I will make thine Officers peace, and thine Exactors righteousness.* Whether it is rightly applied, is not my Business to determine. That that I observe from hence is, that there were but two Orders instituted by the Apostles, *viz.* Bishops and Deacons, which *Clemens* supposes were prophetically promised long before: And this is yet more evidently asserted in another Passage of the said *Clemens* a little after, where he says, that the <sup>2</sup> *Apostles* foreknew through our Lord Jesus Christ, that Contention would arise about the Name of Episcopacy, and therefore being endued with a perfect foreknowledge, appointed the aforesaid Officers, *viz.* Bishops and Deacons, and left the manner of their Succession described, that so when they died, other approved Men might succeed them, and reform their Office. So that

<sup>2</sup> Ἀπόστολοι ἡμῶν ἔγνωσαν διὰ τοὺς Κυρίους ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστοῦ, ὅτι ἔρις ἔσται ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄντος τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς, διὰ ταύτην οὖν τὴν αἰτίαν πρόγνωσιν εἰληφότες τελείαν κατέστησαν τοὺς προειρημένους, καὶ μεταξύ ἐπινομὴν δεδάκασιν, ὅπως ἐὰν κοιμηθῶσιν, διαδέξωνται ἔτεσοι δεδοκιμασμένοι ἄνδρες τὴν λειτουργίαν αὐτῶν. *Ibidem, p. 57.*

speaking of, set over all other Ecclesiastics in the Church of *Rome*. And the Presbyters, here insulted at *Corinth*, were, in that single Church alone, many in number, and consequently could not have been of the same kind, or *order*, with *Polycarp* or *Clemens* himself.

ἀντους κανόνα ἐν σεμνότητι. *Clem. Ep. ad Cor. 1. p. 53. Edit. Patr. Junii, Oxon. 1633.*

there were only the Two Orders of Bishops and Deacons instituted by the Apostles. And if they ordained but those Two, I think no one had ever a Commission to add a Third, or to split One into Two, as must be done, if we separate the Order of Presbyters from the Order of Bishops: But that when the Apostles appointed the Order of Bishops, Presbyters were included therein, will manifestly appear from the Induction of those fore-cited Passages in *Clemens's Epistle*, and his Drift and Design thereby, which was to appease and calm the Schisms and Factions of some unruly Members in the Church of *Corinth*, who designed to depose their Presbyters; and that he might dissuade them from this violent and irregular Action, amongst other Arguments he proposes to them, that this was to thwart the Design and Will of God, who would that all should live orderly in their respective Places, doing the Duties of their own Stations, not invading the Offices and Functions of others; and that for this End, that all Occasions of Disorderliness and Confusion might be prevented, he had instituted Diversities of Offices in his Church, appointing every Man to his particular Work, to which he was to apply himself, without violently leaping into other Men's places; and that particularly the Apostles foreseeing through the Holy Spirit, that contentious and unruly Men would irregularly aspire to the Episcopal Office, by the Deposition of their lawful Presbyters; therefore that such turbulent Spirits might be repressed, or left inexcusable, they ordained Bishops and Deacons where they preached, and described the Manner and Qualifications of their Successors, who should come after them when they were dead and gone, and be revered and obeyed with the same Respect and Obedience as they before were; and that therefore they were to be condemned as Perverters of the Divine Institution, and Contemners of the Apostolick

Authority, who dared to degrade their Presbyters, who had received their Episcopal Authority in an immediate Succession from those who were advanced to that Dignity by the Apostles themselves.

This was the true Reason for which the fore-quoted Passages were spoken, which clearly evinces, that Presbyters were included under the Title of Bishops, or rather that they were Bishops; \* For to what end should *Clemens* exhort the Schismatical *Corinthians* to obey their Presbyters, from the consideration of the Apostles' Ordination of Bishops, if their Presbyters had not been Bishops?

\* But that the Order of Presbyters was the same with the Order of Bishops, will appear also from that place of

\* *To what end* (asks our Enquirer) *should Clemens exhort the schismatical Corinthians to obey their Presbyters, from the consideration of the Apostles' Ordination of Bishops, if their Presbyters had not been Bishops.* I answer to a very good end; because the two names were indifferently used so long as *Clemens* lived, and without having any influence upon the different powers inherent in one of them, when the name of *Bishop* came to be appropriated to him. Our Author elsewhere says, that the first who expressed these Church Officers by the distinct terms of Bishops and Presbyters, was *Ignatius*, who lived in the beginning of the second Century. That was very soon after the martyrdom of *Clement*, which the <sup>1</sup> Church

Chronology places in the last year of the first Century. <sup>1</sup> See Cave's *Chron. Tables of the three first Centuries.*

\* The force of this authority from *Irenæus* lies in this single point, that he calls *Bishops* by the name of *Presbyters*, and as a natural consequence, calls their orders, the *orders of a Presbyter* too.

In the beginning of his discourse he says: <sup>2</sup> *You must obey the Presbyters of the Church;*

<sup>2</sup> *Eis qui in Ecclesiâ sint Presbyteris obaudire oportet.* His

<sup>1</sup> Presbyteri qui serviunt suis  
voluptatibus, et non præponunt  
timorem Dei in cordibus suis

qui successionem habent ab  
Apostolis, sicut ostendimus, qui  
cum Episcopatū successione  
charisma veritatis certum, se-  
cundum placitum patris acce-  
runt. *Iren. l. 4. c. 43. p. 382.*  
*Edit. Lutet. Paris. 1675.*

<sup>3</sup> Habemus annumerare eos qui  
ab Apostolis instituti sunt Epi-  
scopi in Ecclesiis—his vel max-  
ime ea [sc. recondita mysteria]  
traderent, quibus etiam ipsas  
Ecclesias committebant—*suc-  
cessores* relinquebant, suum ipso-  
rum *locum magisterii* tradentes.  
*Iren. lib. 3. cap. 3.*

The persons here meant are clearly described. The Apostles are said to have appointed them their peculiar successors, and to have delivered up the very churches themselves to their single care. The Enquirer agrees with us, that these persons were Bishops in the sense of the Church at that time; but he seems unwilling to give us that special evidence of their being so, which *Irenæus* himself gives, because it contains such broad marks of more than ordinary prerogatives conferred upon them, as, through the singularity of their commission and powers, would make their order appear somewhat different from that of Presbyters. He therefore tells us in general, that they were surely *Bishops*, of whom *Irenæus* was speaking, and then he would assure us, they were of no higher *an order* than any common Presbyters. One circumstance on which he rests this

*Irenæus*, where he exhorts us, <sup>1</sup> to withdraw from those Presbyters, who serve their Lusts, and having not the

those (I mean) who have a suc-  
cession from the Apostles, as I  
shewed you before, who with the  
succession of their Episcopacy,  
have the sure gift of truth ac-  
cording to the good pleasure of  
the Father.

Now what *Irenæus* shewed us before, was this, <sup>3</sup> we can reckon up to you (he says) those who were instituted Bishops in the churches by the Apostles themselves—to whom they committed the very churches themselves also; left them their successors, delivering up to them their own proper place of mastership or prerogative in them.

*fear of God in their Hearts, contemn others, and are lifted up with the Dignity of their* sed contumeliis agunt reliquos, et principalis confessionis fumore elati sunt—ab omnibus igitur

opinion is this, that *they were called by the name of Presbyter*, as well as the others.

To which I answer, that it is but frivolous to argue from the community of names, to the sameness of order. All reasonable persons must admit, that the words *Bishop* and *Presbyter* being indifferently used in Scripture, and mere *Presbyters* being frequently called *Bishops*; does not prove, that therefore all the powers, which belong to those whom we now call *Bishops*, were ever lodged in those *Presbyters*. Though the name of *Presbyter* became by degrees the peculiar title of the *second* order in the Church, on occasion of the name of *Bishop* being solely appropriated to the *first*; yet that was not a necessary consequence of it, nor the immediate business of the Church to make it so. It was for one Ecclesiastical officer only, and that the *chief of all*, coming to preside over them with extraordinary commission from the Apostles, that they wanted a peculiar and distinguishing title; and on him accordingly they fixed that of *Bishop*. So that the name of *Presbyter*, which had been common to all the ministers of the Church before, even up to the highest order of the Apostles themselves, and which, by long prescription, had been a term of dignity and honour among the *Jews*, could be attributed by the Fathers of the Church to a Bishop, without any fear of derogation from his character, and much less of reducing him to a level with the lowest order that should be called by that name; especially if those Fathers fixed such a mark of distinction on the name, as *Irenæus* does here. Hence it appears, that a Bishop might very naturally have been called a *Presbyter*, (though but rarely and for a short time,) while the *Presbyter* (after the expiration of the Apostolic age) had the name of *Bishop* no longer attributed to him in the language of the Catholic Church.

Since *Irenæus's* Bishops then were the same as their predecessors, and such as the Church at that time owned for *Bishops*, although the name of *Presbyter* was applied to them: what

talibus absistere oportet, adhæ-  
rere vero his, qui et Aposto-  
lorum sicut prædiximus, doctri-  
nam custodiunt, et cum Presby-  
terii Ordine Sermonem sanum,  
et Conversationem sine offensâ  
præstant ad informationem et  
correctionem reliquorum—Ta-  
les Presbyteros nutrit Ecclesia,  
de quibus et Propheta ait, et  
dabo principes tuos in pace,  
et Episcopos tuos in Justitiâ.  
*Lib. 4. c. 44. p. 278.*

*first Session; but to adhere  
to those who keep the Doc-  
trine of the Apostles, and with  
their Presbyterial Order are  
inoffensive, and exemplary in  
sound Doctrine, and an holy  
Conversation, to the Informa-  
tion and Correction of others;  
for such Presbyters the Church  
educaes, and of whom the  
Prophet saith, 'I will give  
thee Princes in Peace, and  
Bishops in Righteousness.'*

further diminishing of them could it be, to express their *order*, by an *order* of the same name? Such as the persons were, such undoubtedly was their order. If these Presbyters, then, by *name*, were genuine Bishops in the nature and character of them, it follows, that the order of Presbyter, as applied to them, was such a Bishop's order also. I know it is hard to admit any other possible notion either of words or things, where time immemorial has established one before; and therefore the phrase of *Presbyter's order*, to many amongst ourselves, can scarcely ever be thought, in any Author, to signify more or less than just what we now understand by it. But if things may be allowed to weigh with us, instead of words and sounds, I think it will appear, that the *orders of a Presbyter* spoken of in the text under consideration, are such as the proper successors of the Apostles had, in the sense and practice of the primitive Church.

\* As to the text of *Isaiah* ix. 17 applied here, as it was in *Clemens Romanus* before, I have only to remark, that *Clemens's*

\* In Clemens's copy *Isaiah* ix. 17 was rendered thus: Καταστή-  
σω τοὺς ἐπισκόπους ἀντων εἰς δικαι-  
οσύνην, καὶ τοὺς διακόνους ἀντων ἐ-  
πίστει.

\* translation of the passage  
coincided with his own language  
about the Apostles ordaining  
Bishops and Deacons in the  
Church; (for so the passage,  
it seems, had been rendered in

Now that by these Presbyters, Bishops are meant, I need not take much pains to prove; the precedent Chapter positively asserts it; the Description of them in this Quotation, by their enjoying the Dignity of the first Session, and the application of that Text of *Isaiah* unto them, clearly evinces it. No one can deny but that there were Bishops, that is, that they were superior in degree to other Presbyters; or, as *Irenæus* styles it, honoured with the first Session; but yet he also says, that they were not different in Order, being of the Presbyterial Order, which includes both Bishops and Presbyters.

\* To this Testimony of *Irenæus* I shall subjoin that of

his *Greek* Bible;) and by that authority he made the names to be awful and venerable to the *Corinthians*, as he wished to do. But <sup>5</sup> *Irenæus*, who was speaking in this place of supreme Presbyters only, applied the text, as it is in our present translation of the LXX. where such Presbyters are called by the names of *Princes* and *Bishops*; both which words answered the argument he had in hand, which was to enjoin obedience to the supreme governors of any one Catholic Church; but do not prove, any more than the passage from *Clemens* does, that the writer understood but two distinct Ecclesiastical orders.

\* That we may judge the better what *Clemens Alexandrinus* meant by the passages here quoted from him, let us briefly consider the occasion of them. He was setting forth the highest advancement of a Christian under the title of a complete and true *Gnostic*. <sup>6</sup> He represents him as master of all his passions, and then improving in good works till he becomes equal to an angel here; and being bright and shining as the sun, hastens

<sup>5</sup> *Irenæus* used the LXX. in which the passage is rendered thus: Δώσω τοὺς Ἀρχοντάς σου ἐν εἰρήνῃ, καὶ τοὺς Ἐπισκόπους σου ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ.

<sup>6</sup> Μετριοπαθήσας τὰ πεῖτα καὶ εἰς ἀπάθειαν μελετήσας, ἀνέκσας τε εἰς ἐυποίησαν Γνωστικῆς τελείτητος, ἰσάγγελος μὲν ἐνταῦθα. Φωτεινὸς δὲ ἦδη καὶ ὡς ὁ ἥλιος λάμπω—

<sup>2</sup> Ἐπεὶ καὶ αἱ ἐνταῦθα κατὰ τὰ  
ἐκκλησίαν προκοπαὶ πισκόπων, πρεσ-  
βυτέων, διακόνων μιμήματα ὅμοια

σπεύδει ἐπὶ τὴν ἀγίαν μονὴν, καθά-  
πεις οἱ ἀποστόλοι. *Edit. Oxon.*  
*Strom. l. 6. p. 792.*

<sup>1</sup> Ἐξεστιν οὖν καὶ νῦν ταῖς Κυρια-  
καῖς ἐνασκησαντας ταῖς ἐντολαῖς,  
κατὰ τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον τελείως βιώ-  
σαντας καὶ Γνωστικοῦς, εἰς τὴν  
ἐκλογὴν των ἀποστόλων ἐγγεχφῆναι.  
p. 793.

fection of happiness hereafter, as an Apostle himself could be, if he were equal to that Apostle in *Gnostic* wisdom and holiness here; characters and orders of men, from the highest to the lowest of them in the Church, (according to this view,) making but little difference in the case. To explain himself still further on the point, he goes on in these words: *he is a Presbyter in the Church indeed, and a true Deacon of the will of God, if he does, and teaches, the things of the Lord; not ordained of men, or therefore thought a righteous person, because made a Presbyter, but because righteous, therefore chosen into that Presbytery; and although he be not honoured with the first seat here on earth, yet shall hereafter sit down on the twenty-four thrones judging the people, as St. John says in the Revelation.* The sense of this whole speculation appears to be as follows; that, in respect of true intrinsic excellence here, and of a title to perfect happiness hereafter, neither Apostle, Presbyter, Deacon nor Layman, have any great advantage of one another by reason of any outward character, title, or difference of order they may possess below, but purely as they excel one another in Christian virtue, in divine knowledge, wisdom, and goodness, and so are more perfect *Christian Gnostics* than the rest. If therefore a Presbyter (in particular) be such a qualified Saint, though he be not

*Clemens Alexandrinus* who, tho' he mentions <sup>2</sup> the *Pro-cesses of Bishops, Presbyters and Deacons*, from which

on through his righteous know-  
ledge and the love of God to a  
holy mansion, as the Apostles  
did before him. He tells us fur-  
ther, that <sup>1</sup> every one who exer-  
cised himself in the command-  
ments of the Lord, and lived as  
a perfect *Gnostic* according to  
the *Gospel*, might be admitted  
into the *Apostolic roll*; that is,  
be as fair a candidate for per-

some conclude the Bishops Superiority of Order ; yet <sup>a</sup> the subsequent Words evidently declare, that it must

ἀγγελικῆς δόξης, κακείνης της δικαιομίας τυγχάνουσιν ἢν ἀναμένειν φασὶν αἱ γραφαὶ τοὺς κατ' ἵχυος των ἀποστόλων ἐν τελειώσει δικαιοσύνης

honoured with the *first seat* here, that is with an *Apostolical chair* in the Church, (for in *Clement's* comparison, an Apostle was one of the orders amongst the rest,) yet he shall sit in the twenty-four thrones, judging the people, as St. *John* speaks in the *Revelation* : as much as to say, though he may not sit in a <sup>8</sup> Bishop's place, yet he shall sit at the last day, among the chiefest saints, to judge the world with Christ. How the mentioning of the first chair of a Presbytery, in the sense wherein St. *Clemens* here names it, should imply, that every Presbyter who sat in the Presbytery, must be of equal order with him who sat the first and highest in it, I now leave to the reader's judgment on the passage.

<sup>a</sup> *Clemens* mentions *processes*, or advancements of Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons ; but *these* (says our Enquirer) are evidently meant only of degree ; and there are but two orders between them all ; for *Clemens* immediately adds, that *those offices are an imitation of the Angelic glory, and of that dispensation, which, as the Scriptures say, they wait for, who treading in the steps of the Apostles, live in the perfection of Evangelical righteousness* ; for *these*, the Apostle writes, shall be taken up into the clouds, 1 Thess. iv. 17, and there first as Deacons attend, and then, according to the process, or next station of glory, be admitted into the Presbytery, (for glory differs from glory,) till they increase to a perfect man.

Hence he argues, that since the Scriptures mention but two orders of angels, viz., *Archangels and Angels* ; and the stations of glorified saints are here explained by their being some time

<sup>8</sup> *Tertullian*, contemporary with St. *Clemens*, calls a Bishop's See an *Apostolical chair* : and it has been already shewn, that the Church of that age acknowledged Bishops to be the Apostles' proper successors.

κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον Βεβιωκότας, ἐν  
νεφέλαις τούτους ἀρδέντας γεάφει ὁ  
ἀπόστολος διακονήσει μετὰ τὰ πρῶ-  
τα, ἐπειτα ἐγκαταλαγῆναι τῷ πρεσ-

be meant only of Degree,  
and that as to Order they  
were one and the same; for  
he immediately adds, *That*

Deacons, and then taken into the Presbytery, until *their glory is perfected*; it therefore appears that *Clemens Alexandrinus* meant his *Bishops*, *Presbyters* and *Deacons* to have but *two orders* amongst them. This is his argument stated faithfully and to the full; on which I take leave to make these few observations:—

1st. That it seems a forced and unwarrantable construction of *Clemens's* phrase, to make him mean a difference of order between two of his three progressions in the Church (for Deacons and Presbyters have unquestionably a distinct order from one another) and no difference at all in the third. That a difference of *order* was to be understood amongst these progressions in general, is evident from the application of them made by our Enquirer, who maintains that they were an imitation of the *Archangels and Angels' orders*. So that not only three progressions must here be taken to be a natural pattern and imitation of two only in heaven *above*; but one of the three also, which had no distinct order, but what was common to another, must help to make up the true representation of the state of Angels and Archangels, who had each of them a distinct and different order to themselves. This will appear a still more forced construction of *Clemens's* words, if we observe, that in this quotation, wherein he expresses the two orders of glorified saints, by their advancing from the order of Deacon-Saints first, to that of glorified Presbyters at last,

<sup>9</sup> Κατὰ προκοπὴν δόξης ἐγκαταλα-  
γῆναι τῷ πρεσβυτερῷ. *Stromat.*  
*lib. 6.*

he uses the <sup>9</sup> same numerical word—it is a *προκοπὴ δόξης*, which makes the higher order of saints or angels there. Why then must not this *προκοπὴ* of

Bishops be thought to do as much for *them*, if the relative and correlative in the comparison duly answer to one another? But,

*those Officers are an imitation of the Angelick Glory, and of that Dispensation, which, as the Scriptures say, they wait for, who treading in the steps of*

βυτέριω κατὰ πρόσωπην δόξης, δόξα γὰρ δόξης διαφέρει ἄλλοις ἀντὶ τελείων ἀνδρας ἀνέκποσιν. Stromat. lib. 6. p. 481.

*the Apostles, live in the perfection of Evangelick Righteousness ; for these, the Apostle writes, shall be took up into the Clouds, (Here he alludes to the manner of the Saints Glorification in 1 Thess. 4. 17. Then we which are alive, and remain, shall be caught up together with them in the Clouds, to meet the Lord in the Air, and so shall we ever be with the Lord) and there first as Deacons attend, and then according to the Process, or next station of Glory, be admitted into the Presbytery ; for Glory differs from Glory, till they increase to a perfect Man. Now in this Passage there*

2dly. By reading *only* of Angels and Archangels in the Holy Scripture, what warrantable grounds have we for determining the number of the orders of Angels? St. *Augustin* durst not do it ; but thought <sup>1</sup> *a cautious ignorance less to be blamed, than a rash presumption in this very case* ; and was so humble as to own it in himself. *That there are thrones, and dominions, principalities, and powers, in the heavenly parade above* (says he) *I stedfastly believe ; and it is my undoubted faith, that there is a difference between them ; but what that difference is, I know not, nor do I think that ignorance is any hurt to me.* He seemed to be mindful of St. *Paul's* awful hint, *not to intrude into things which he saw not.* For my own part, I apprehend that the general division into *Archangels and Angels*, (sup-

<sup>1</sup> Magis in istis temeraria præsumptio, quam cauta ignoratio culpanda videatur.—Esse itaque sedes, dominationes, principatus, potestates, in cœlestibus apparatus firmissime credo, et differre inter se aliquid indubitate fide teneo—sed quid inter se differant nescio: Nec ea sane ignorantia periclitari me puto. *August. lib. ad Oros. cap. 11. fol. 141. inter opera, Tom. 6. Paris 1555.*

are two things which manifest that there were but two Ecclesiastical Orders, *viz.* Bishops and Deacons, or Presbyters and Deacons ; the first is, that he says, that those Orders were resembled by the Angelick Orders. Now the Scripture mentions but two Orders of Angels, *viz.* Archangels and Angels, the Archangels presiding over the Angels, and the Angels obeying and attending on the Archangels. According to this resemblance therefore there must be but Two Ecclesiastical Orders in the Church, which are Bishops or Presbyters presiding and governing, with the Deacons attending and obeying. The other part of this Passage, which proves but two Ecclesiastical Orders, is his likening of them to the progressive Glory of the Saints, who at the Judgment Day shall be caught up in the Clouds, and there shall first as

posing the revelation we have of them to be full and entire,) no more concludes their orders to be but strictly *two*, than the division of *English* subjects into Peers and Commoners, is an evident proof that there are but two orders of subjects in this kingdom. To draw conclusions respecting the Christian Dispensation from so precarious an hypothesis, (to say the best of it,) is but to argue in the dark. *Clemens* himself does not so much as name the *orders* of angels in the passage under consideration, but only mentions the *Angelical glory* ; and immediately joins it with the glory of human saints in heaven, making both of them the subject of his comparison. That he assigned a threefold state of glory to them, will appear by the last observation I shall make, which is this :—

3dly. That when *Clemens* advanced his glorified saints from the inferior state of Deacons into the Presbytery, he did not, like our Enquirer, represent their bliss there as consummate ; but adds, that *glory differs from glory* till they *increase into a perfect man*. And that *this increasing into a perfect man* was a further advancement than that of his *Deacon and Presbyter saints* before, is not only evident by what immediately follows, *viz.*,

Deacons attend and wait on Christ's Judgment-Seat, and then, when the Judgment is over, shall have their Glory perfected, in being placed on the Celestial Thrones of that

<sup>2</sup> *that such as those rest in the holy mount of God, in the uppermost Church, where the philosophers of God do meet together;* (for such is his *Platonic* phrase;) but I think it is undeniably clear by these express words, which he uses in summing up the whole argument shortly after: <sup>3</sup> *You see what wisdom says of these Gnostics; and, in proportion to this, there are different mansions, according to the dignity of believers.* Solomon says, *a select grace of faith shall be given to him, and a more delightful lot in the temple of the Lord.* This comparative shews that there are inferior ones in God's temple, which is the Universal Church; and it gives us to understand, that there is a superlative one too, where the Lord is. These three elect mansions are signified by the numbers in the gospel, of thirty, sixty, and an hundred fold. And the perfect inheritance is theirs, who attain to the perfect man, according to the image of the Lord.

By this clear evidence of the venerable Father's sense, I conceive he now appears consistent with himself, and that the three orders in the Church are so far from being lost by the parallel, that it could not be made out without them.

<sup>2</sup> "Αχεῖς ἀν εἰς τέλειον ἀνδέα ἀνέ-  
ήσωσιν. Οἱ τοιοῦτοι—καταπαύσουσιν  
ἐν ὅρει ἀγίῳ Θεῷ, τῇ ἀνωτάτῳ  
ἐκκλησίᾳ, καθ' ἣν οἱ φιλόσοφοι συ-  
άγονται τοῦ Θεοῦ—*Strom.* 6. p.  
793.

<sup>3</sup> 'Οξάς οἶχ πεζὶ των Γνωστικῶν  
διαλέγεται ἡ σοφία· ἀναλόγως ἄξει  
καὶ μοναὶ ποιίαι, κατ' αξία των  
πιστευσάντων. Ἀυτίκα Σολόμων,  
δοθῆσται γὰρ ἀντῷ της πίστεως ἡ  
χάρις ἐκλεκτὴ, καὶ κλῆρος ἐν  
ταῦτῃ Κυρίου θυμηζέστερος. Τὸ συγ-  
κριτικὸν γὰρ δείνυσι μὲν τὰ ὑπο-  
θεῖσκότα ἐν τῷ ταῦτῃ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὃς  
ἐστιν ἡ πᾶσα ἐκκλησία, ἀπολείπει  
δὲ ἐνοεῖ καὶ τὸ ὑπερθετικὸν, ἔνδια  
ὁ Κύρος ἐστιν. Ταύτας ἐκλεκτὰς  
οὖσας τὰς τρεῖς μονὰς οἱ ἐν τῷ  
Εὐαγγελίῳ ἀριθμοὶ ἀνίσσονται, ὁ  
τριάκοντα, καὶ ὁ ἑξήκοντα, καὶ ὁ  
ἐκατόν· καὶ ὁ μὲν τελεία κληρονομία  
των εἰς ἀνδέα τέλειον ἀφικνουμένων,  
κατ' εἰκόνα τοῦ Κυρίου. *Ibid.* p.  
797.

Sublime Presbytery, where they shall for ever be blest and happy.

So that there were only the two Orders of Deacons and Presbyters, the former whereof being the inferior Order, never sat at their Ecclesiastical Conventions, but like

<sup>3</sup> *Videt et ordinationes, sive stationes ministrorum ejus Diaconorum, ut mihi videtur, ordinem memorat astantium divino ministerio. Homil. 2. in Cant. in Cantic. Origen.*

<sup>4</sup> *Nobiscum sedeat in Clero. Cyprian. Epist. 35. p. 84.*

Semicircle, on a Seat somewhat elevated above those of

<sup>5</sup> *Collegis meis. Epist. 28. §. 2. p. 64.*

servants <sup>a</sup> *stood* and waited on the latter, who <sup>4</sup> *sat* down on *θέσεις*, or Seats in the form of a Semicircle, whence they are frequently called *Consensus Presbyterii, Or the Session of the Presbytery*, in which Session he that was more peculiarly the Bishop or Minister of the Parish, sat at the Head of the

<sup>b</sup> Our Enquirer, having described the form of Session in the ancient Presbytery, further tells us, that St. *Cyprian*, in his 28th Epistle, §. 2. *Edit. Pamel.*, [or, *Ep. 34. Edit. Oxon.*,] calls the Presbyters *his Colleagues* in the Session. Now if we carefully peruse the whole Epistle, we shall find St. *Cyprian* mentioning *his Colleagues* four times in it.

1. He commends his Presbyters and Deacons (to whom he writes) for <sup>4</sup> *not communicating with a Presbyter and Deacon of Didda, as his Colleagues had advised them.* Were these *Colleagues* his own Presbyters, by whose advice they themselves acted so agreeably to his mind?

<sup>4</sup> *Consilio collegarum meorum — censuistis non communicandum. Cypr. Ep. 34. Edit. Oxon.*

2. He observes to his Presbyters, that they had acquainted

his Priority in the same Order, but not by his being of another Order. Thus the foresaid *Clemens Alexandrinus* distinguishes the Bishop from the Presbyters, by his being advanced to the *πρωτοκληδόνια*, or the first Seat in the Pres-

him by letter, how the said Presbyter of *Didda* and his Deacon had been admonished again and again by *his Colleagues* and yet <sup>5</sup> went on in their fault. Did the Presbyters in their letter to *Cyprian*, mean themselves *by those Colleagues*? Why is it not said, *admonished by us*, since the letter was their own?

and why not *by you*, in St. *Cyprian's* answer again to them?

3. He orders his Presbyters and Deacons to read *his letters to his Colleagues also, if there were any there, or happened to come thither*. Could he mean such persons as he wrote to, and yet question whether any of them were there?

4. *Cyprian* informs his Presbyters and Deacons, what ought to be done in the case of two Sub-Deacons and an Acolyth, about whom they consulted him. He tells them, that, many of his own Clergy being yet absent, he would not privately decide that cause, which was likely to be a standing precedent concerning ministers of the Church, and therefore ought to be examined <sup>7</sup> not only together with *his Colleagues, but with all his people also*. He wishes them to know, that the hearing of that cause should be as public as the matter itself was, and that not only he and his own Clergy, to whom he wrote, but that his *Colleagues also*, and even his own people should be present

<sup>5</sup> Semel atque iterum, secundum quod mihi scripsistis, a collegis meis moniti—pertinaciter persisterunt. *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> Legite has easdem literas et collegis meis, si qui aut præsentes fuerint, aut supervenerint. *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> Hæc singulorum tractanda sit et limanda pleniùs ratio, non tantum cum Collegis meis, sed et cum plebe universa: expensa enim moderatione libranda et pronuncianda res est, quæ in posterum circa ministros Ecclesiæ constitutæ exemplum. *Ib.*

bytery, not by his sitting in a different Seat from them :

<sup>6</sup> Ὅτος πρεσβύτερος ἔστι τῷ ὄντι τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ διακόνος αληθῆς τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ βούλησεως ἐὰν ποιῇ καὶ διδάσκῃ τὰ τοῦ Κυρίου οὐχί, ὥπ' ἀνθρωπῶν χειροτονούμενος οὐδὲ ὅτι πρεσβύτερος, δίκαιος νομιζόμενος, ἀλλ' ὅτι δίκαιος, ἐν πρεσβύτερῷ καταλεγόμενος, καὶ ἐταῦθα ἐπὶ γῆς προτοκαθεδρίᾳ μὴ τιμηθῇ ἐν τοῖς εἴκοσι καὶ τέσσαροι καθεδεῖται θρόνοις τὸν λαὸν κείνων ὡς φρούριον ἐν τῇ Αποκαλύψῃ Ιωάννῃ. Stromat. lib.

6. p. 480.

For thus he writes, *“He is in truth a Presbyter of the Church, and a Minister of the Will of God, who does and teaches the things of the Lord, not ordained by Men, or esteemed just, because a Presbyter, but because just, therefore received into the Presbytery; who although he be not honoured with the first Seat on Earth, yet shall hereafter sit down on the Twenty and Four Thrones, mentioned in the Revelations,*

*judging the People.* So that both Bishops and Presbyters were Members of the same Presbytery, only the Bishop was advanced to the first and chiefest Seat therein, which is the very same with what I come now from proving, *viz.* That Bishops and Presbyters were Equal in Order, but Different in Degree; That the former were the Ministers of their respective Parishes, and the latter their Curates or Assistants.

Whether this hath been fully proved, or whether the precedent Quotations do naturally conclude the Premises,

at it. By his *Colleagues* here, he must surely have meant the same persons, that he had mentioned three times before in the same letter, that is, some Bishops of the province, whereof he was Metropolitan, the solemnity of the case (according to his own account) having manifestly required their presence, and invited him to call in their assistance. This serves to confirm me in the opinion, that, in St. *Cyprian's* language, *Colleague* was unquestionably a term appropriated to *Fellow-Bishops* only; since the fairest instance our Author could adduce in order to disprove the point, appears quite to coincide with it.

the Learned Reader will easily determine. I am not conscious that I have stretched any Words beyond their natural Signification, having deduced from them nothing but what they fairly imported: If I am mistaken, I hope I shall be pardoned, since I did it not designedly or voluntarily. As before, so now I profess again, that if any one shall be so kind and obliging to give me better Information, I shall thankfully and willingly acknowledge and quit mine Error; but till that Information be given, and the Falsity of my present Opinion be evinc'd, (which after the impartialiest and narrowest Enquiry, I see not how it can be done) I hope no one will be offended, that I have asserted the Equality or Identity of the Bishops and Presbyters as to Order, and their Difference as to Preeminency or Degree.

§. 4. <sup>c</sup> Now from this Notion of Presbyters, there evidently results the Reason why there were many of them

<sup>c</sup> We have here an innocent speculation about the reason of the number of Presbyters in the primitive Churches, and of the time when their office began. Our Enquirer's scheme required something of this kind. As a Diocese was supposed by it to have only a single Congregation for three hundred years together, and as we read of forty or fifty Presbyters in one, the question might naturally be asked, (as our Author well foresaw,) what need there could have been of them all? He answers, they were partly as Curates are to Rectors now; though more necessary on account of uncertainty of the times, and the variety of accidents that then occurred. And because the number of these Presbyters might still be somewhat surprising, he further makes them to be young pupils to his parochial Bishops, and to be in a state of education under them, so that they might be prepared to succeed those Bishops when they were dead and gone. Since this harmless thought is pressed upon our notice, without any quotations from Fathers, Councils, or Historians in its support, it shall be left undisturbed by me.

in one Church, even for the same Intent and End, tho' more necessary and needful, that Curates are now to those Ministers and Incumbents whom they serve, it was found by Experience, that Variety of Accidents and Circumstances did frequently occur both in Times of Peace and Persecution ; the Particulars whereof would be needless to enumerate, that disabled the Bishops from attending on, and discharging their Pastoral Office ; therefore that such Vacancies might be supplied, and such Inconveniencies remedied, they entertained Presbyters or Curates, who during their Absence might supply their Places, who also were helpful to them, whilst they were present with their Flocks, to counsel and advise them ; whence Bishop

*Cyprian* assures us, that he  
7 Communi Consilio. *Epist.* did all things by the 7 *Common Council* of his Presby-  
24. p. 55. *ters.*

Besides this, in those early Days of Christianity, Churches were in most Places thin, and at a great distance from one another ; so that if a Bishop by any Disaster was Incapacitated for the Discharge of his Function, it would be very difficult to get a Neighbouring Bishop to assist him. To which we may also add, that in those times there were no publick Schools or Universities, except we say the Catechetick Lecture at *Alexandria*, was one for the breeding of young Ministers, who might succeed the Bishops as they died ; wherefore the Bishops of every Church took care to instruct and elevate some young Men, who might be prepared to come in their place when they were dead and gone. And thus for these and the like Reasons most Churches were furnished with a competent Number of Presbyters, who helpt the Bishops while living, and were fitted to succeed them when dead.

§. 5. I say only, most Churches were furnished with

Presbyters, because all were not, especially those Churches which were newly planted, where either the Numbers or Abilities of the Believers were small and inconsiderable: Neither indeed were Presbyters Essential to the Constitution of a Church; a Church might be without them, as well as a Parish can be without a Curate now; it was sufficient that they had a Bishop; a Presbyter was only necessary for the easing of the Bishop in his Office, and to be qualified for the succeeding him in his Place and Dignity after his Death. For as *Tertullian* writes, <sup>8</sup> *Where there are no Presbyters, the Bishop alone administers the two Sacraments of the Lord's Supper and Baptism.*

<sup>8</sup> *Ubi Ecclesiastici Ordinis non est consessus, et offert, et tingit Sacerdos, qui est ibi solus. Exhort. ad Castitat. p. 457.*

§. 6. As for the time when Presbyters began, to me it seems plain, that their Office was even in the Apostolick Age, tho' by their Names they were not distinguished from Bishops till some time after. The first Author now extant, who distinctly mentions Bishops and Presbyters, is *Ignatius* Bishop of *Antioch*, who lived in the beginning of the Second Century: But without doubt before his time, even in the Days of the Apostles, where Churches increased, or were somewhat large, there were more in Holy Orders than the Bishops of those Churches. We read in the New Testament of the Bishops of *Ephesus*, *Acts* 20. 28. and *Philippi*, *Philip.* 1. 1. which must be understood of what was afterwards distinctly called Bishops and Presbyters. So likewise we read in *St. Timothy*, 1 *Tim.* 4. 14. of a Presbytery, which in all the Writings of the Fathers, for any thing I can find to the contrary, perpetually signifies the Bishop and Presbyters of a particular Church or Parish. <sup>d</sup> And to this we may add what

<sup>d</sup> Our Enquirer concludes this Chapter with a short remark upon *Clemens Alexandrinus*'s account of *St. John* the Apostle's

*Clemens Alexandrinus* Reports of St. John, that he went into the neighbouring Provinces of *Ephesus*, <sup>9</sup> *Partly that he might constitute Bishops, partly that he might plant new Churches, and partly that he might appoint such in the Number of the Clergy, as should be commanded him by the Holy Ghost.* Where by the Word Clergy, being oppos'd to Bishops, and so consequently different from them, must be understood either Deacons alone, or which is far more probable, Presbyters and Deacons.

<sup>8</sup> Ἀπῆι παρακαλουμένος καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ πλησίχωρα των ἐθνῶν. Ὁπου μὲν ἐπισκόπους, &c., c. ult. et Euseb. l. 3. c. 23.

solemn ordinations : <sup>8</sup> *He went upon request to the neighbouring provinces (says Clemens) in some places to constitute Bishops; in others, to plant whole Churches; and in other places to ordain*

*such into the number of the Clergy, as were signified to him by the Holy Ghost.* Here is indeed a sacred and striking instance of primitive Bishops, *instituted* (we may truly say) by the Holy Ghost himself, who marked out the persons, and *inducted* by an Apostle, who placed them in their Churches. If our learned Author had meant such an *Institution* and *Induction* as this, derived from this original unto all the successors of the Apostles in the like station of the Church, we should differ but little about his words, when he calls the *Bishops*, the *presented, instituted* and *inducted* ministers of his *Diocesan Parishes*. But then the obligation of the Presbyters, not to invade the offices of these Bishops would have something more in it, than he thinks proper to allow : for he maintains that for *peace or unity, or order sake, they could not or would not do it*; as if it were mere gentleness, or love of peace, which withheld them from invading a Bishop's function, when they were as well qualified for it as the Bishop himself. Whereas here is an eminent superior ordained to preside over them by God's Institution ; and, as we

have already shewn, with such additional Clerical powers as were never imparted to them. As the Bishops were thus Apostolically settled at the first, so the orders of Presbyters and Deacons had the like institution and induction into their respective places in the Churches, so early as the days of St. John. Our Enquirer expresses his belief, that by the word *Clergy*, in the last clause of the passage under consideration, both those orders most probably should be understood. And a *Divine right* for each of them, in the language of those times, wherein *Clemens* and *Eusebius* lived, is here as evident, as the venerable *Clemens*, in few words, could possibly have made it.

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## CHAPTER V.

§. 1. *The Order and Office of the Deacons.*    §. 2. *Subdeacons what?*    §. 3. *Of Acolyths, Exorcists, and Lectors; thro' those Offices the Bishops gradually ascended to their Episcopal Dignity.*    §. 4. *Of Ordination. First, of Deacons.*    §. 5. *Next of Presbyters; the Candidates for that Office presented themselves to the Presbytery of the Parish where they were Ordained.*    §. 6. *By them examined about Four Qualifications; viz. Their Age.*    §. 7. *Their Condition in the World.*    §. 8. *Their Conversation.*    §. 9. *And their Understanding. Humane Learning needful.*    §. 10. *Some inveighed against Humane Learning, but condemned by Clemens Alexandrinus.*    §. 11. *Those that were to be Ordain'd Presbyters, generally pass'd through the Inferiour Offices.*    §. 12. *When to be Ordained, propounded to the People for their Attestation.*    §. 13. *Ordain'd in, but not to a particular Church.*    §. 14. *Ordained by the Imposition of Hands of the Presbytery.*    §. 15. *The Conclusion of the first Particular, concerning the Peculiar Acts of the Clergy.*

§. 1. NEXT to the Presbyters were the Deacons, concerning whose Office and Order I shall say very little, since there is no great Controversy about it; and had it not been to have rendred this Discourse compleat and entire, I should in Silence have pass'd it over. Briefly therefore, their original Institution, as in *Acts* 6. 2. was to serve *Tables*, which included these two things, A looking after the Poor, and an attendance at the Lord's Table. As for the Care of the Poor, *Origen* tells us that the

<sup>1</sup> Διάκονοι διοικοῦντες τὰ της ἐκκλησίας χειράτα. Comment. in Mat. Tom. 16. p. 443. Vol. 1.

<sup>1</sup> Deacons dispensed to them the Churches Money, being employed under the Bishop to inspect and relieve all the

Indigent within their Diocese: As for their Attendance at the Lord's Table, their Office with respect to that, consisted in preparing the Bread and Wine, in cleansing the Sacramental Cups, and other such like necessary things;

<sup>c</sup> whence they are called by

*Ignatius* <sup>2</sup> *Deacons of Meats and Cups*, assisting also, in

some Places at least, the Bishop or Presbyters in the Celebration of the Eucharist,

<sup>3</sup> *delivering the Elements to the Communicants*. They also preached, of which more in another Place; and in the

<sup>4</sup> *Absence of the Bishop and Presbyters baptized*. In a word, according to the Signification of their Name, they were as *Ignatius* calls them, <sup>5</sup> *the Churches Servants*, set apart on purpose to serve

<sup>c</sup> We have the learned *Vossius's* authority for restoring a *negative particle* to a short clause here quoted out of *St. Ignatius*. The *Enquiry* leaves it out, as some copies had done before, and thus makes that venerable Father call this third order in the Church, *the Deacons of meats and cups*: <sup>1</sup> whereas it is evident, that *Ignatius's* intention was to remove that meaner character from them, and to give them their proper title of *servants, or ministers of the Church of God*; for he thereupon requires all men to reverence them accordingly. The nature of the period itself, and *Ignatius's* ordinary notion of the Deacons, agree with this reading.

<sup>2</sup> Βρωμάτων καὶ ποτῶν εἰσιν διάκονοι. *Epist. ad Tralles*. p. 48.

<sup>3</sup> Διάκονοι διδόσσιν ἐκάστω τῶν παρουσιῶν παρεχλαβεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐχαριστήθεντος ἀστού καὶ ὄντος. *Just. Martyr. Apolog.* 2. p. 97.

<sup>4</sup> Baptismum dandi habet jus Episcopus dehinc Presbyteri et Diaconi. *Tertul. de Bapt.* p. 602.

<sup>5</sup> Ἐκκλησίας Θεοῦ, ὑπηρέται. *Ep. ad Tralles*. p. 48.

<sup>1</sup> Όν γὰς βρωμάτων καὶ ποτῶν εἰσὶ διάκονοι, ἀλλ' ἐκκλησίας Θεοῦ ὑπηρέται—Πάντες ἐντρεπέσθωσαν τοὺς διακόνους. *Ignat. Ep. ad Trall.* p. 48. *Edit. Vossii secunda. Lond.* 1680.

God, and attend on their Business, being constituted as  
<sup>6</sup> ὑπηγοῖς τοῦ κοινοῦ. Lib. 2. *Eusebius* terms it, <sup>6</sup> *for the*  
 cap. 1. p. 38. *Service of the Publick.*

§. 2. Next to the Deacons were the Subdeacons, who  
<sup>7</sup> Hypodiaconum Optatum. *Ep.* are mentioned both by  
 24. p. 55. <sup>7</sup> *Cyprian* and <sup>8</sup> *Cornelius.*  
<sup>8</sup> ὑποδιάκονος ἵπτα. Apud *Euseb.* As the Office of the Presby-  
 lib. 6. cap. 43. p. 244. teters was to assist and help  
 the Bishops, so theirs was to assist and help the Dea-  
 cons. And as the Presbyters were of the same Order with  
 the Bishop, <sup>f</sup> so probably the Subdeacons were of the  
 same Order with the Deacons, which may be gathered

<sup>f</sup> Our Author observes, that the orders of Deacons and Sub-  
 deacons, in his opinion of them, were *probably* the same, the one  
 being intended only to assist the other in the same Ecclesiastical  
 offices, common to them both. He grounds his supposition only  
 upon this presumption, viz. that *in no Church whatsoever was it*  
*usual to have more than seven Deacons, because of the original*  
*number instituted by the Apostles; and therefore Subdeacons*  
*were ordained to discharge their necessary ministrations for them*  
*in the greater and more numerous Churches.* That a Subdeacon  
 could not discharge the necessary ministrations of a Deacon, is  
 evident, I think, from what our learned Author himself owns, a  
 Deacon did in the primitive Church, that is, *assist in the cele-  
 bration of the Eucharist, preach and baptize.* What ancient  
 Records ever affirmed that Subdeacons could do all this? So  
 far from it, we are assured by the council of *Laodicea*, (which, as

<sup>2</sup> In eo præcipue id agebatur, Dr. *Cave* observes, was held for  
 ut collapsa primitivæ ecclesiæ the express purpose of <sup>2</sup> reviving  
 disciplina resarciretur. *Hist.* the discipline of the primitive  
*Liter.* Part 2. p. 122. *Edit.* Church,) that <sup>3</sup> *Subdeacons*  
*Lond.* 1698. were not suffered to have any  
<sup>3</sup> Οὐ δεῖ ὑπηγότας ἐχειν χώραν ἐν place in the *Diaconicum*, (or  
 sacred Apartment of the Dea-

cons.

from what we may suppose to have been the Origin and Rise of these Subdeacons, which might be this, That in no Church whatsoever, was it usual to have more than Seven Deacons, because that was the original Number instituted by the Apostles; wherefore when any Church grew cons,) nor so much as to touch the holy vessels—<sup>4</sup> that they might not wear the sacred Fascia or linen wreath (called the *Orarium*) appointed for the Deacon's office: and for this very reason, (as *Zonaras* remarks) <sup>5</sup> because every sacred order had their peculiar habit. That Subdeacons ministered to, and not for the Deacons, is observed by <sup>6</sup> *Suicer*, from no less authority than the first great Council of *Nice*. All this directly contradicts the hypothesis before us, of Subdeacons being ordained to discharge the ministrations of Deacons; and, one would think, were evidence enough to prove their orders to be different, unless some authentic ritual, within our Enquirer's prescribed period of time, were extant to show the contrary. As to the primitive Churches confining themselves to seven Deacons only, I refer the reader to the judgment of the Sixth General Council about it,

<sup>7</sup> where he will find that the original precedent in the *Acts* did not affect the number or office of the Deacons, *who ministered at the Altar of the Church.*

And I think the testimony of an Ecumenical Council about the sense of the Catholic Church is of some weight, though not held within the three first Centuries.

τῷ διακονικῷ, καὶ ἀπτεσθαι ἵερῳ σκευᾳ. *Conc. Laod. Can. 21.*

<sup>4</sup> Οὐ δεῖ ὑπηρέτην ἀράξιον φορεῖν. *Ib. Can. 22.*

<sup>5</sup> Ἐκάστῳ ἵερῷ τάγματι ἀπομένηται, καὶ στολὴ ὁπείᾳ ἀντῷ, &c. *Zonar. in Can.*

<sup>6</sup> *Suicer* in voce *ὑπηρέτης*. ‘Ὑπηρέται in Ecclesiâ dicuntur Subdiaconi, qui Episcopis, Presbyteris, et *Diaconis* ministrant. *Act. Conc. Nic. 1. Par. 2. p. 172.*

<sup>7</sup> Τοὺς προειρημένους ἐπτὰ διακόνους μὴ ἐπὶ τοῖς μυστηρίοις διακονουμενῶν λαμβάνεσθαι. *Conc. 6. in Trullo. Can. 16.*

so great and numerous, that this stinted Number of Deacons was not sufficient to discharge their necessary Ministrations, that they might not seem to swerve from the Apostolical Example, they added Assistants to the Deacons, whom they called Subdeacons or Under Deacons, who were employed by the Head or Chief Deacons, to do those Services in their stead and room, to which, by their Office, they were obliged. But whether this be a sufficient Argument to prove the Subdeacons to be of the same Order with the Deacons, I shall not determine, because this Office being now antiquated, it is not very pertinent to my Design, I only offer it to the Consideration of the Learned, who have Will and Ability to search into it.

§. 3. Besides those forementioned Orders, who were immediately consecrated to the Service of God, and by him commission'd thereunto, there were another Sort of Ecclesiasticks, who were employed about the meaner

<sup>9</sup> Naricum Acoluthum. *Cypr. Epist.* 36. p. 87.

<sup>1</sup> Unus de exorcistis vir probatus. *Firmil. apud Cypr. Ep. 75. §. 10.* p. 238.

<sup>2</sup> Hos lectores constitutos. *Cyp. Ep. 34. §. 4.* p. 81.

Offices of the Church, such as <sup>9</sup> *Acolyths*, <sup>1</sup> *Exorcists* and <sup>2</sup> *Lectors*, whose Offices because they are now disused, except that of the Lector, I shall pass over in Silence, reserving a Discourse of the Lector for another Place ; only in general,

these were Candidates for the Ministry, who by the due discharge of these meaner Employes, were to give Proof of their Ability and Integrity, the Bishops in those days not usually arriving *per Saltum* to that Dignity and Honour ; but commonly beginning with the most inferiour Office, and so gradually proceeding thro' the others, till they came to the supreme Office of all, as *Cornelius* Bishop

<sup>3</sup> Non iste ad Episcopatum of *Rome*, <sup>3</sup> Did not presently subito pervenit, per omnia ec- leap into the *Episcopal Throne*,

*but first passed through all the Ecclesiastical Offices, gradually ascending to that Sublime Dignity.* The Church in those happy Days, by such a long Trial and Experience,

using all possible Precaution and Exactness, that none but fit and qualify'd Men should be admitted into those Sacred Functions and Orders, which were attended with so dreadful and tremendous a Charge. And this now brings me in the next Place, to enquire into the Manner and Form of the Primitive Ordinations, which I chuse to discourse of in this place, since I shall find none more proper for it throughout this whole Treatise.

§. 4. As for the various Senses and Acceptations which may be put on the Word *Ordination*, I shall not at all meddle with them : That Ordination that I shall speak of is this ; the Grant of a Peculiar Commission and Power, which remains indelible in the Person to whom it is committed, and can never be obliterated or rased out, except the Person himself cause it by his Heresie, Apostacy, or most extremely gross and scandalous Impiety. Now this sort of Ordination was conferred only upon Deacons and Presbyters, or on Deacons and Bishops being here to be consider'd as all one, as Ministers of the Church-Universal. As for the Ordination of Deacons, there is no great Dispute about that, so I shall say no more concerning it, than that we have the manner thereof at their first Institution in *Acts* 6. 6. which was, that they were Ordained to their Office by Prayer and Imposition of Hands.

§. 5. § But as for the Ordination of Presbyters, I shall more distinctly and largely treat of the Manner and Form thereof, which seems to be as follows.

§ Our Author here presents us with every circumstance of the

clesiastica officia promotus—ad Sacerdotii sublime fastigium cunctis Religionis gradibus ascendit. *Cyprian. Epist.* 52. §. 4. p. 115.

Whosoever desired to be admitted into this Sacred Office, he first proposed himself to the Presbytery of the Parish where he dwelled and was to be Ordained, desiring their Consent to his designed Intention, praying them to confer upon him those Holy Orders which he craved. Now we may suppose his Petition was to the whole Presbytery, because a Bishop alone could not give those Holy Orders, as is most evident from *Cyprian*, who assures us,

primitive manner of ordaining Presbyters, and that so minutely, that one would think he was giving us a formal abstract of some primitive *ritual*: but, unhappily for his scheme, he does not, or cannot, quote a single authority from any record, so public, proper, and necessary in the case. He formally represents a candidate for holy orders, as tendering his petition for them to a parochial Presbytery, the Presbyters as sitting in solemn debate upon *such petition*, the whole success of the petitioner as depending on *their declaring him capable or incapable of orders*, and the *people's authority in the case* as being little less than that of Presbyters, insomuch that the Bishop himself was unable, by any power or commission of his own, to ordain a single clerk in his Diocese, but as *they* should be pleased to approve or disapprove of him: and *all this* is set forth without one text of Scripture, without one single canon, general or provincial, without one clear precedent, or positive affirmation of a Father of the Church to show, that it was a catholic custom so to do.

Certainly this is a singular method of proving the general practice of the Christian Church; and at the most, amounts only to this; that if St. *Cyprian*, upon any consideration whatever, consulted his Presbytery, (and we may add his people too,) whenever he ordained; then, by the constitution of the Catholic Church in his time, he and all other Christian Bishops were so far obliged to do the same, that none of them could ordain without the authority of the Presbyters and people: for it is upon St. *Cyprian's* account of himself alone, that this formal scheme of *primitive Ordinations* is drawn up.

<sup>b</sup> that <sup>4</sup> all *Clerical Ordinations* were performed by the *Common Counsel of the whole Presbytery*. And therefore

<sup>4</sup> *Communi consilio omnium nostrum.* *Epist. 24.* p. 55.

<sup>b</sup> The words, *all Clerical Ordinations*, are neither named, nor so much as implied, in the epistle from whence this quotation is taken. The whole case there referred to was this: <sup>8</sup> *St. Cyprian had formerly designed to ordain a certain Lector and Sub-deacon, by the common advice and counsel of his Presbyters*

<sup>8</sup> *Quod jampridem communi consilio omnium nostrum cœperat, &c.—oportuit me per clericos scribere.*

*and Deacons: [therefore he assures us (says our learned Enquirer) that all Clerical Ordinations were performed by the common council of the whole Presbytery; for from this very place the quotation is taken.]* But having occasion to make use of such *Clerical officers* during his absence, as the holy Bishop further states,

<sup>9</sup> he ordained them by him-

self alone, (which, by the way, is proof enough that the orders were complete, and valid to all intents and purposes, without the concurrence of others.) It is true he expresses a wish rather to have had his Presbyters and Deacons in council with him, and excuses himself for having ordained alone; and why?

<sup>9</sup> *Fecisse me sciatis lectorem Saturum et hypodiaconum Optatum.* *Cypr. Epist. 29. Edit. Oxon.*

<sup>1</sup> *Because he had solemnly purposed with himself (as he says in another epistle) from the time of his first promotion to the See, that he would do nothing of his own private opinion, without consulting them, or without the consent of his people.*

<sup>1</sup> *A primordio Episcopatus mei statuerim nihil sine consilio vestro, et sine plebis consensu mea privatim sententia gerere.* *Cyp. Ep. 14. §. ult. Ed. Oxon.*

Now here the question is; whether this resolution of St. *Cyprian* was grounded upon any law of God, or the Church, by which he was bound so to act? or, whether it proceeded from

<sup>5</sup> Necessa fuit—necessitate urgente promotum est. *Epist.* 24. p. 55.

when upon a <sup>5</sup> most urgent and necessary occasion he had been forced to ordain one, but a Lector without the

the mere impulse of his own goodness and discretion? The former, if it had been proved, would imply catholic practice and duty in the case; the latter will amount to nothing more than a personal prudence in the peculiar circumstance of that meek and holy Martyr; worthy of all imitation indeed, where the times and persons suited with it so properly, as they did then; but, otherwise, binding upon none.

That no constitution, law, or canon, obliged St. *Cyprian* to what he did in this matter, is evident, I think, from the following particulars:—

1st. The whole college of Presbyters and Deacons in the Church of *Rome*, who were contemporary with him, and continually corresponding with him, give an account of it totally at variance with our Enquirer's assertion. In the preface of an epistle to

St. *Cyprian*, they represent his practice thus: <sup>9</sup>Although a good conscience supported by the vigour of the discipline of the Gospel, and made a true witness of itself, by the decrees of heaven, commonly contents itself with appealing to the judgment of God alone, and neither courts the praise, nor fears the accusation of another; yet they are worthy of double honour indeed, who, knowing their own conscience, ought of right to be judged of God only, yet desire all their actions to be tried and approved by their own very brethren themselves: which we do not wonder,

<sup>2</sup> Quanquam bene sibi conscientius animus, et evangelicae disciplinae vigore subinxus, et verus sibi in decretis cœlestibus testis effectus, soleat solo Deo judice esse contentus, nec alterius aut laudes petere aut accusationes pertimescere; tamen geminata sunt laude condigni, qui cum conscientiam sciant Deo soli debere se judici, actus tamen suos desiderant, etiam ab ipsis suis fratribus comprobari; quod te, frater Cypriane, facere non mirum est, qui protuæ verecundia et ingenita industria consiliorum tuorum nos

Advice and Consent of his Presbytery, which one would be apt to think was no great Usurpation, he takes great pains (*Ep. 24. p. 55.*) to justify and excuse himself for so doing.

*brother Cyprian, that you do, non tam judices voluisti, quam who according to your modesty participates invenire. Ep. 30. §. 1. Edit. Oxon.*  
 [the Presbyters and Deacons of another Church] should judge, or rather be partners of all your counsels with you.

This is clear language; and St. *Cyprian* himself says little less, when he declares to the lapsed brethren of his own Diocese, that <sup>3</sup> *the Church was constituted upon Bishops, and every act of it was to be governed by them.* Again and again throughout his whole works, is the sentiment repeated, <sup>4</sup> *that every Bishop had the ordering and disposing of his own act in the administration of the Church, and was accountable for it to God alone.* The learned Dr. <sup>5</sup> *Cave* speaks of St. *Cyprian's* practice in the same language with the *Roman* Presbyters and Deacons: <sup>6</sup> *he was so modest (says that judicious Author) that in all great transactions concerning the Church, he always consulted with his Colleagues and his Flock, and determined not to adjudge any thing without the counsel of the Clergy and the people.* A singular modesty indeed! if he were *obliged* to act no otherwise.

2dly. St. *Cyprian's* own expression, upon which this question

<sup>3</sup> *Per temporum et successio-  
num vices Episcoporum ordina-  
tio, et Ecclesiae ratio decurrit,  
ut Ecclesia super Episcopos  
constituatur, et omnis actus  
Ecclesiae per eosdem præpositos  
gubernetur. Cyp. Ep. 33. §. 1.  
Edit. Oxon.*

<sup>4</sup> *Actum suum disponit et diri-  
git unusquisque Episcopus, ra-  
tionem propositi sui Domino  
rediturus. Ep. 55. p. 110.*

<sup>5</sup> *In Ecclesiae administratione  
voluntatis suæ arbitrium libe-  
rum. Ep. 72. p. 198. Ep. 59.  
p. 136. Ep. 6. p. 188, &c.*

<sup>6</sup> *Cave's Life of St. Cyprian,  
p. 263.*

§. 6. Upon this Application of the Candidate for the Ministry, the Presbytery took it into their consideration,

more immediately depends, implies no manner of obligation in it; on the contrary, it denotes a free determination of his own

will, <sup>7</sup> [*a primordio Episcopatūs mei statuerim*, says he,] *I have purposed or determined with*

*myself, from the time I entered upon the Bishopric*, that I would act in common concert with you all. This was a rule, indeed, for the holy Martyr to act by; but all the authority in it was taken upon himself. And so the learned *Grotius* declared it to be, even when he was speaking in favour of the Presbyters and Presbytery of the Church; for quoting this passage of St. *Cyprian*,

<sup>8</sup> *A primordio Episcopatūs mei statuerim*, [*hæc vox rem arbitriam significat.*] *Grot. de Imp. Sum. potest. &c. cap. xi. §. 14.*

<sup>8</sup> *the word [statuerim] says he, signifies a voluntary act of his own.* And I presume the most partial reader finds no more of legal obligation in it, than that discerning critic did.

3dly. It is to me instead of many arguments, that our Enquirer could not show that St. *Cyprian's* practice in the case was grounded upon any law, Ecclesiastical or Divine: had he been able to adduce any such authority, he had never left his scheme, so precarious as it is, without it. The fundamental argument for that scheme is St. *Cyprian's* *commune consilium*, (the *consistorial convention* that he was pleased to call upon such occasions.) Of which convention, the holy Martyr himself speaking fully and plainly to his Presbyters, Deacons, and people together, declares that he expected no other assistance from them, but their evidence, information or testimony, about the qualifications or merits of the persons whom he

<sup>9</sup> *Sed expectanda non sunt testimonia humana.* *Cyp. Ep. 38. §. 1. Edit. Oxon.*

*purposed to ordain.* <sup>9</sup> *Humana testimonia* are the very words he uses, to denote their part in all his Clerical Ordinations, as

we may see in his 38th Epistle, where this custom is drawn up by himself.

debated his Petition<sup>6</sup> *in their Common Council*, and proceeded to examine whether he had those Endowments and Qualifications which were requisite for that Sacred Office. <sup>6</sup> *Communi Consilio. Epist. 24. apud Cypr.* p. 55. What those Gifts and Qualifications were, touching which he was examined, may be reduced to these Four Heads; his Age, his Condition in the World, his Conversation, and his Understanding.

Now to draw such inferences, and to raise such suppositions as our Enquirer does, from these consistory councils alone, is much the same thing as to conclude, that *some branch* (at least) of royal authority must needs belong to the privy counsellors of a wise prince, because he will seldom, or never, confer honours, or enact any important act of his sovereign power in the state, without first consulting with them: or that a cautious judge, who gets all the evidence he can, before he decides a cause, and perhaps in a great measure forms his judgment by the help of it, should therefore be said to allow a negative or casting voice to those witnesses, because they appear to have some useful influence upon his determination. St. *Cyprian's* case with his Presbytery and people, both from his own account, and from the impartial judgment of others, has a plain and near resemblance to these: at least the Enquiry offers nothing that can prove it to differ from them. See Appendix, No. 13.

<sup>1</sup> The particular *qualifications* for Holy Orders here mentioned by our Author are primitive and genuine. And in the Canons and Ordination Offices of *our own Church*, such suitable provision is made for ascertaining each of them, that if the spirit of peace and unity in the primitive times were not more altered among us, than the *constitution* of the Church now is, we should hear of few exceptions against it.

As to the age of the persons to be ordained, though it varied somewhat according to times, and the occasions of the Church, I find that, within the three first centuries, the Apostolic Canon was usually observed, viz. not to choose a novice, [*νεοφυτον*,] a

As for his Age; It was necessary for him to have lived some time in the World, to have been of a ripe and mature Age; for they ordained no Novices, or young Striplings: That was the Practice of the Hereticks, whom *Tertullian* jeers and upbraids with Ordaining

word, which has little or no reference to maturity of years in general, but signifies, in the Scripture sense of it, an adult person, *but very lately converted to the faith, and newly planted in the*

*Church*, as the best <sup>1</sup> Com-

<sup>1</sup> See St. Jerome, Chrysostom, Cœcumenius, Theophylact; and, of later times, Erasmus, Dr. Hammond, Grotius, &c. on 1 Tim. iii. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Vide Canon. 34.

<sup>3</sup> Can. 35.

<sup>4</sup> Can. 32, and last Rub. in Off. for Ord. Deacons. And here it must be declared unto the Deacon, that he must continue in that office of a Deacon the space of a whole year (except for reasonable causes it shall otherwise seem good unto the Bishop) to the intent he may be perfect, and well expert in the things appertaining to the Ecclesiastical Administration. In executing whereof if he be found faithful and diligent, he may be admitted by his Diocesan to the order of Priesthood, at the times appointed in the Canon.

mentators agree in expounding it. According to this ancient Canon, our own Church not only has <sup>2</sup> enjoined the age of candidates to be always inquired into, but, for farther satisfaction, <sup>3</sup> requires the Bishop diligently to examine them in the presence of those ministers that shall assist him at the imposition of hands. And since, according to the judgment of the ancient Fathers, the office of Deacon is a step or degree to the ministry, she <sup>4</sup> suffers no persons to be advanced from the lowest to the highest order afterwards, but by the usual steps, and by waiting the appointed time; that so their fitness for the sacred functions may be made more manifest, and that they may not expose themselves to the censure of those who are eager to pick up any thing against Christianity in general, and our own Church in particular.

<sup>7</sup> Raw and Unexperienced Clerks. But as for the Orthodox, they took care to confer Orders on none, but on such as were well stricken in years; observing herein the Apostolick Canon in *1 Tim. 3. 6.* *Not a Novice, lest being lifted up with Pride, he fall into the Condemnation of the Devil.* But yet if any young Man was endued with extraordinary Grace and Ability, the fewness of his Years was no Obstacle to his Promotion, that being superseded by the Greatness of his Merit; as we find in the case of *Aurelius* in *Cyprian*, who though <sup>8</sup> young in years, yet for his eminent Courage and <sup>9</sup> Excellency, was graced with Ecclesiastical Orders: And such an one, I suppose, was the Bishop of *Magnesia* in the times of *Ignatius*, which gave occasion to that Exhortation, to the People of that Diocese, <sup>1</sup> not to despise their Bishop's Age, but to yield him all due Respect and Reverence.

§. 7. <sup>k</sup> As for his Condition in the World; he was not

<sup>k</sup> It is the aim of our Church to confine all her ministers to an attendance upon those holy services and employments, to which she has consecrated them. She enjoins them <sup>5</sup> to lay out every hour they can get, either in reading or hearing the Holy Scriptures; or some such laudable study or exercise as that; and to be ever doing what tends to piety and virtue, and to the advancement of the Church of

<sup>7</sup> Nunc Neophytes conlocant. *De prescript. adv. Hæret.* p. 89.

<sup>8</sup> In annis adhuc novellus. *Cyp. Ep.* 33. p. 76.

<sup>9</sup> Merebatur—Clericæ Ordinationis—gradus et incrementa—non de annis suis, sed de meritis æstimandus. *Ibidem.*

<sup>1</sup> Μὴ συγχρᾶσθαι τὴν ἡλικίαν του ἐπιστόπου ἀλλὰ—πᾶσαν ἐντεπτὴν ἀντρῷ ἐπινέμειν. *Ignat. Epist. ad Magnes.* p. 31.

<sup>5</sup> Horis omnibus opportunis vel Scripturis legendis aut audiendis incumbent, vel alii cuiquam studio aut exercitio laudabili vacabunt; ea semper facientes quæ ad probitatem et virtutem spectent, seduloque operam dant ut Ecclesiam Dei promoveant, &c. *Can. 75.*

to be entangled with any mundane Affairs, but to be free from all secular Employments, and at perfect Liberty to apply himself wholly to the Duties of his Office and Function. This also was founded on that other Apostolick Canon in 2 Tim. ii. 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Nemo militans Deo obligatus molestiis Sæcularibus, ut possit placere ei cui se probavit. Quod cum de omnibus dictum sit, quanto magis molestiis et laqueis Sæcularibus obligari non debent, qui divinis rebus et spiritualibus occupati, ab Ecclesia recedere, et ad terrenos et sæculares actus vacare non possunt, cujus ordinationis et religionis formam Levitæ prius in lege tenuerunt, ut cum terram dividerent, et possessiones partirentur undecim Tribus, Levitica Tribus, quæ Templo et Altari, et Ministeriis Divinis vacabat, nihil de illa divisionis portione perciperet, sed aliis terram colentibus, illa tantum Deum coleret, et ad victimum atque alimentum suum ab undecim Tribubus de fructibus qui nascebantur, decimas recipieret. Quod totum fiebat de auctoritate et dispositione divi-*

<sup>2</sup> *No man that warreth, entangleth himself with the affairs of this life, that he may please him who hath chosen him to be a Soldier. Which Words, saith Cyprian, if spoken of all, How much more ought not they to be entangled with Secular Troubles and Snares, who being busied in Divine and Spiritual things, cannot leave the Church, to mind earthly and worldly actions? Which Religious Ordination, as he goes on to write, was emblematis'd by the Levites under the Law: For when the Land was divided, and Possessions were given to eleven Tribes, the Levites who waited upon the Temple and Altar, and the Sacred Offices thereof, had no share in that Division;*

<sup>6</sup> *Nec vero sordidæ alicui aut illiberali operæ assuescent, nec potationibus et crapulæ se dent, tempusve otiose transigent in alea, &c. Can. 75.*

*God; <sup>6</sup> interdicting all mean trade or employment in the world, and much more every loose and scandalous course of life, under penalty of all the censures she can inflict upon them.*

*but the others till'd the Ground, whilst they only worshipped God, and, received Tents of the others Increase for their Food and Sustenance ; all which happened by the Divine Authority and Dispensation, that they who waited on Divine Employments, should not be withdrawn therefrom, or be forced either to think of, or to do any Secular Affairs : Which fashion, as he there continues to write, is now observed by the Clergy, that those who are promoted to Clerical Ordinations, should not be impeded in their Divine Administrations, or incumbered with secular Concerns and Affairs, <sup>1</sup> but as Tents, receiv-*

<sup>1</sup> In quoting a passage from St. Cyprian's 66th Epistle, our Enquirer met with the following words, relating to the maintenance of the ministry (*in honore sportulantium fratrum, tanquam decimas, ex fructibus accipientes*) which he is pleased to translate thus: *as tenths, receiving subscriptions from the brethren.* With nearer analogy to the words, and with quite as much kindness to the Church, he might as well have rendered them, *the Clergy's living on the Basket*; for some allusion there is indeed to *that*, but to *subscriptions of the brethren*, not any, so far at least as I can see.

That the primitive Christians paid their firstfruits to God, Origin assures us, when he says, <sup>7</sup>*to whom we pay firstfruits, to him we also offer up our prayers*: Irenæus, when speaking of the <sup>8</sup> oblations of the Christian Church, declares, *we ought to offer to God the firstfruits of his creature*,

<sup>7</sup> Ωδε τὰς ἀπαρχὰς ἀποδιδωμεν, τούτῳ καὶ τὰς εὐχὰς ἀναπέμπομεν. Orig. c. Cels. Edit. Hoeschel. August. Vind. 1605.

<sup>8</sup> Ecclesiæ oblatio, quam Do-

*ing Subscriptions from the Brethren, depart not from the Altar and Sacrifices, but night and day attend on Spiritual and Heavenly Ministrations.* These words were spoken on the occasion of a certain Bishop called *Geminus Victor*,

minus docuit offerri, &c.—Offerre igitur oportet Deo primicias ejus creaturæ, sicut et Moses ait, Non apparebis vacuus ante conspectum Domini Dei tui. *Iren. l. 4. c. 34.*

<sup>9</sup> Αἱ δεκάται των καρπῶν καὶ Ἱερο-  
μάτων εὐσεβεῖν τοῖς θεοῖς—ἔδιδασ-  
κον ἐκ τούτων γαρ οἴμαι των ἀπαρ-  
χῶν καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς διετέφορτο. *Strom. l. 2. p. 397. Edit. Lutet. 1629.*

<sup>1</sup> *Iren. l. 4. c. 27.* Et quia Dominus naturalia legis, per quæ homo justificatur—non dissolvit, sed extendit, sed et implevit, ex sermonibus ejus ostenditur—pro eo quod est, *non mæchaberis*, nec concupiscere præcepit; et pro eo quod est, *non occides*, neque irasci quidem; et pro eo quod est, *decimare* omnia, quæ sunt pauperibus dividere; hæc omnia non dissolventis erant legem, sed adimplentis, et extendentis, et dilatantis in nobis.

<sup>2</sup> Et propter hoc illi (sc. Judæi) decimas suorum habebant consecratas; qui autem percepe-

even as Moses says, thou shalt not appear empty before the Lord thy God. That these firstfruits, in the language of the Fathers, included *tithes*, is evident from *Clemens Alexandrinus*, who, in one short sentence, makes them equivalent terms: <sup>9</sup> *the tithes of fruits and cattle* (says he) *taught piety towards God: for out of these firstfruits, I conceive the priests also were maintained.* And in another place, *Irenæus* expressly says, that <sup>1</sup> *the law of paying tithes was no more abrogated by our Saviour's doctrine, than those two precepts in the Decalogue against adultery and murder; but, like them, it was enlarged and completed by it; insomuch that, as the Jews consecrated the tithes of their possessions to God, so Christians gave all they had to such uses as the Lord had for it.* What those uses were, *St. Paul* tells us [1 Cor. ix. 13,14,] where he calls it an *ordination of the Lord*, that such as preach the Gospel should live of the Gospel, in the same way as those who formerly ministered in holy things lived of the

who at his Death made a certain Presbyter, called *Geminus Faustinus* Trustee of his last Will and Testament, which Trust *Cyprian* condemns as void and null,

*Because a Synod had before decreed, that no Clergyman should be a Trustee, for this Reason, because those who were in Holy Orders ought*

things of the Temple, and as those who waited at the altar were partakers with the altar, i. e. divided with the altar some part of the sacrifice.

Now to apply this to the case before us. Out of these first-fruits, holy oblations, tithes, and overplus of tithes deposited by the primitive Christians in the Apostles' hands at first, and in the hands of the Bishops of the Church for some time after, those faithful stewards allotted a suitable proportion to each Presbyter, Deacon, and other inferior officers in the Church, and likewise to such poor brethren as stood in need of maintenance. In which distribution, every clerical officer's part was called his <sup>3</sup> *sportula*, or basket of the consecrated offerings, in allusion to the custom prescribed by the Jewish law, that any *Israelite* who dwelt at a distance from the temple at *Jerusalem*, should bring thither his firstfruits in a basket. (*Deut. xxvi. 2.*) Accordingly, the several ministers, who received such portions of those *hallowed oblations*, were called (by St. *Cyprian* here and elsewhere) the *sportulantes fratres*, that is, *brethren who had their maintenance from those dedicated things*. Whether this manner of maintaining the priesthood in the primitive Church be fairly represented by the words "*receiving subscriptions from the brethren*," I leave to the impartial decision of the reader. See Appendix, No. 14.

<sup>3</sup> Cum jampridem in Consilio Episcoporum statutum sit, ne quis de Clericis et Dei Ministris tutorem vel curatorem testamento suo constituat, quando

runt libertatem, omnia quae sunt ipsorum ad *Dominicos* decernunt usus. *Idem. ib. c. 34.*

<sup>3</sup> Cæterum presbyterii honorem designasse nos illis jam sciatis, ut et *sportulis* iisdem cum presbyteris honorentur, et divisiones mensurnas æquatis quantitatibus partiantur. *Cyp. Ep. 39. ad finem. Ed. Oxon.*

singuli Divino Sacerdotio hono-  
rati, et in Clerico Ministerio  
constituti, non nisi Altari et Sa-  
crificiis deservire, et precibus  
atque orationibus vacare debe-  
ant. *Idem Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Nunc Sæculo obstrictos con-  
solant. *Tertul. de præscript.*  
*adv. Hæret.* p. 89.

§ 8. As for the Conversation  
<sup>5</sup> Humiles et mites. *Cyprian.*  
*Epist.* §. 1. p. 90.

<sup>6</sup> In Ordinationibus Sacerdoti-  
um non nisi immaculatos et  
integros antistites eligere debe-  
mus, qui sancte et digne Sacri-  
ficia Deo offerentes, audiri in  
precibus possint, quas faciunt  
pro Plebis Dominicæ incolumi-  
tate, cum scriptum sit, Deus  
peccatorem non audit, sed si-  
quis Deum coluerit, et voluntati-  
tem ejus fecerit, illum audit.  
*Ep. 68. §. 2. p. 201.*

<sup>m</sup> Wherefore before they were Ordained, they were

<sup>m</sup> The Church of England imitates the primitive Church in getting what testimony and information she can, even from the people themselves, before her Bishops ordain any. Ordinations are enjoined to be celebrated in

<sup>4</sup> On some Sunday, or holyday in the face of the Church, the Bishop shall say unto the people thus: Brethren, if there be any of you who knoweth any impediment, or notable crime,

*only to attend upon the Altar  
and its Sacrifices, and to give  
themselves wholly to Prayer  
and Supplication.* It was a  
Blot in the Hereticks Ordin-  
ations, that they <sup>4</sup> *Ordained*  
*such as were involved in the  
World, and embarrass'd with  
Carnal and Secular Concerns.*

of the Party to be Ordained, he was to be <sup>5</sup> *humble and  
meek*, of an unspotted and  
exemplary Life. So says  
*Cyprian*, <sup>6</sup> *In all Ordinations  
we ought to choose Men of  
an unspotted Integrity, who  
worthily and holily offering  
up Sacrifices to God, may be  
heard in those Prayers which  
they make for the safety of their  
Flock: For it is written, God  
heareth not a Sinner; but if  
any one be a Worshipper of  
him, and doth his Will, him he*

*heareth.* <sup>m</sup> Wherefore before they were Ordained, they were

<sup>m</sup> The Church of England imitates the primitive Church in getting what testimony and information she can, even from the people themselves, before her Bishops ordain any. Ordinations are enjoined to be celebrated in a <sup>4</sup> *public* manner: the people are invited to make what objections they can, and even conjured by the Bishop in the name of God to do so: whosoever will, has timely notice, and full

proposed to the People for their Testimony and Attestation of their holy Life and Conversation: But of this we shall speak more in another place: Only it may not be improper to remember here, that this is also an Apostolick Canon, in 1 Tim. 3. 2, 3, 7. *A Bishop then must be Blameless, the Husband of one Wife, vigilant, sober, of good Behaviour, given to Hospitality, apt to teach, not given to Wine, no Striker, not guilty of filthy Lucre, but Patient, not a Brawler, not Covetous. Moreover he must have a good report of them which are without, lest he fall into Reproach, and the Snare of the Devil.*

§. 9. <sup>n</sup> As for the understanding of the Person to be Ordained, he was to be of a good Capacity, fit and able

liberty to interpose, if he have any thing material to object, and the testimonials required from the neighbourhood where the candidates have lately lived, afford a further opportunity for the same.

in any of these persons presented to be ordered Deacons for the which he ought not to be admitted to that office, let him come forth in the name of God, and shew what the crime or impediment is. *See the Office for ordaining Deacons.*

<sup>n</sup> As to the trial of the candidates' understanding, and their advancement both in sacred and human learning, our Church <sup>s</sup> enjoins the Bishop to examine them diligently in the presence <sup>s</sup> Vide Can. 35. § 4. of those ministers, that shall

assist him at the imposition of hands. Testimonials are required either from colleges, where they have received their education, or from some learned and judicious persons, who have known their conversation for some years next before. And, in short, we find such provision made by our Church for ascertaining men's fitness for those holy offices, to which they are set apart, that had we but first learnt the most essential rules of Church-membership, commanded in the Gospel, *to love the brotherhood, to obey them who are set over us in the Lord, and to keep the unity*

duly to teach others. This is also another of the Apostolick Canons in 2 Tim. 2. 15. *Study to shew thyself approved unto God, a Workman that needeth not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the Word of Truth.* And in 1 Tim. 3. 2. *A Bishop must be apt to teach,* which implies an Ability of teaching, and a Capacity of rightly understanding, apprehending, and applying the Word of God ; to which end Humane Learning was so conducive, as that *Origen* pleads not only for its usefulness, but also for its necessity, especially for that part of it, which we call Logick, to find out the true Sense and Meaning of the Scripture, as appears from this following Digression, which he makes concerning it, in one of his Commentaries,

7. Εἰ δύναται ἡθικὸν πρόβλημα, ἢ φυσιογούμενον ἢ θεολογούμενον χῶρος ἀκριβοῦσθαι σημανομένων καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν λογικὸν τόπον τρανουμένων ὃν δεῖ τρεσοπον παρέστασθαι τὶ γὰρ ἀπότον ἀκούειν των κυριολεκτρουμένων, ἐν ταῖς διαλέκτοις καὶ ἐφιστάνειν ἐπιμελῶς τοῖς σημανομένοις, ἐστι γὰρ ὅπου παρα τὴν ἀγνοίαν των λογικῶν μεγάλως περιπικτομεν μὴ καθάριζοντες τὰς ἀμονημένας καὶ αμφιβολίας, καὶ καταχειρίσεις, καὶ κυριολεξίας καὶ διαστολὰς ὅιον παρε τὸ ἀγνοεσθαι τὴν ὁμώνυμον του κόσμου προσηγορίας φανήν, ἐκπεπτωκασιν ἐπὶ τὸ ἀστεβέστατα φρονεῖν περὶ το δημιουργου, ὃι μὴ καθάριζοντες ἐπὶ τίνων κεῖται τὸ, ὁ κόσμος ἐν φονηφε κεῖται, ὅτι ἀντὶ των περιγείων καὶ ανθεωπίνων

How is it possible, saith he, that a Question either in Ethics, Physicks, or Divinity, should be understood, as it ought, without Logick ? You shall hear no Absurdity from those who are skill'd in Logick, and diligently search out the signification of words ; whereas many times, thro' our ignorance in Logick, we greatly err, not distinguishing Homonymies, Amphibolies, the different Usages, Properties and Distinction of Words, as some from the Ignorance of the Homonymy of the word World,

of the Spirit in the bond of peace, we should soon be ready to own, that they were proper and suitable means, if duly executed, of obtaining the end for which they were designed.

*have fell into wicked Opinions touching its Maker, not discerning what that signifies in 1 John 5. 19. The World lies in Wickedness; where they understanding by the World, the frame of Heaven and Earth, and all Creatures therein, blaspheme the Creator thereof, by affirming, that the Sun, Moon and Stars which move in so exact an Order, lie in Wickedness. So also thro' the same Ignorance they know not the true Sense of that Text in 1 John 30. This is the Lamb of God, which taketh away the Sins of the World. Neither of that*

*in 2 Cor. 5. 19. God was in Christ reconciling the World to himself: Wherefore if we would not err about the true sense of the Holy Scripture, it is necessary that we understand Logick, which art of <sup>8</sup> Logick, the foresaid Father thinks, is recommended to us by Solomon in Prov. 10. 17. He that refuseth Reproof, or Logick, as he rendereth it, erreth.*

*Clemens Alexandrinus* also stiffly asserts the Utility of Humane Learning, where he says, <sup>9</sup> *That it is profitable to Christianity for the clear and distinct Demonstrations of its*

τούτῳ οὐτως ἐκεῖ ὡς Ἰωαννη εἰρηται, διηδέντες γὰς κόσμον κατ' αυτὴν τὴν λέξιν σημαντεοῦται τὸ σύστημα τὸ ἐξ οὐρανου καὶ γῆς καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς θεασύτατα καὶ ἀνοσιώτατα ἀποφανοῦται περὶ Θεου μηδαμὸς ἔγω γεικνύναι δυνάμενοι πάντας ἥλιος καὶ σελήνην καὶ ἀστέρες τὰ οὐτώ τετάγμενα κινούμενα κεῖται ἐν τῷ πονηρῷ εἴ τα ἐὰν προσάγωμεν ἀντοῖς ἐκ του οὗτος ἐστιν ὁ ἀμύνας του Θεου ὁ αἰεῖν τὴν αμαρτίαν του κόσμου—παλιν τε Θεὸς ἦν Χριστῷ κοσμον καταλλάσσων ἐσυτῷ ὅτι καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς τούς θέλοντας μὴ σφάλλεοῦται, περὶ τὴν ἀληθείαν ἐν τῷ νοεῖν τὰς θείας γραφὰς ἀναγκαῖότατα ἐστι τὰ πίπτοντα εἰς τὴν χρῆσιν εἰδέναι λογικά. Tom. 1. Comment. in Genes. p. 16, 17. Vol. 1.

<sup>8</sup> Προτρέπει καὶ ὁ θεῖος λόγος ἡμας ἐπὶ διαλεκτικὴν ὅπου μὲν Σολομῶντος λέγοντος, Παιδεία δὲ ἀνεξέλεγκτος. Contra Celsum, lib. 6. p. 279.

<sup>9</sup> Φιλοσοφία χρησίμη πρὸς θεοσέβειαν γίνεται πρωταιδεία τις οὖσα τοῖς τὴν πίστιν δι' ἀποδεῖξεως καρπουμένοις. Strom. lib. 1. p. 207.

<sup>1</sup> Φιλοσοφία πρὸς κατάληψιν της ἀληθείας. Ibidem p. 233.

<sup>2</sup> Θρηγκὸς γὰρ ἐστι διαλεκτικὴ ὡς μὴ καταπατεῖσθαι πρὸς τῶν σοφιστῶν τὴν ἀληθείαν. Stromat. lib. 6. 472.

<sup>3</sup> Ταῖς γραφαῖς αὐταῖς μέγα φῶς ἐντίκτει ταῖς ψυχαῖς. Ibidem.

<sup>4</sup> Ἡ διαλεκτικὴ συνεργεῖ πρὸς τὸ μὴ ὑποπίπτειν ταῖς κατατρεχούσαις αἰցεσσιν. Stromat. lib. 1. 234.

<sup>5</sup> Ὁδὸς δὲ ἡδῆς φυλάσσεται παιδεία ὡς μὴ ἀπατηθῆναι ὡς μὴ κλαπῆναι πρὸς των ἐπι βλὰβη των ακροωμένων κάκοτοχγίαν ἡσυχότων. Ibidem p. 210.

<sup>6</sup> Θέοθεν ἕκειν εἰς ἀνθεώπους. Stromat. lib. 1. p. 210.

from Heaven unto Men. But should I produce all the Passages in this Father, concerning the Utility and Excellency of Humane Learning, I must transcribe several Pages in Folio, which if the Reader has a Curiosity to view, he may especially take notice of these Places, *Stromat. lib. 1. Pag. 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215.* and *Stromat. lib. 6. Pag. 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477.*

§. 10. It is true, there were some in those days of

<sup>7</sup> Πόλλοι δὲ καδάπερ ὡς παιδεῖς τὰ μεριμνὰ σύτως δεδίχτοι τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν φιλοσοφίαν φοβούμενοι μη ἀπαγάγηρ ἀντούς. Stromat. lib. 6. p. 472.

*Doctrine, <sup>1</sup> in that it helps us to the more evident understanding of the Truth. And in particular for Logick, he gives it high Encomiums, as that <sup>2</sup> it is a hedge to defend the Truth from being trod down by Sophisters, that it gives us great light duly to understand the Holy Scriptures, that <sup>4</sup> it is necessary to confute the Sophisms of Heretics. And in general, for all sorts of Learning he tells us, <sup>5</sup> that it keeps the way of Life, that we be not deceived or circumvented, by those that endeavour to draw us into the way of Sin. So that he thinks Philosophy and the Liberal Arts <sup>6</sup> came down from Heaven unto Men. But should I produce all the Passages in this Father, concerning the Utility and Excellency of Humane Learning, I must transcribe several Pages in Folio, which if the Reader has a Curiosity to view, he may especially take notice of these Places, *Stromat. lib. 1. Pag. 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215.* and *Stromat. lib. 6. Pag. 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477.**

<sup>7</sup> who dreaded Philosophy, lest it should deceive them, as much as Children did Hobgoblins. Because they saw by too lamentable experience, that many Learned Mens

Brains were so charmed, or intoxicated with Philosophical Notions, as that they laboured to transform them into Christian Verities, and so thereby became Authors of most pestilent and damnable Heresies, which is particularly observed by *Tertullian*, with respect to the Hereticks of his time, who in this account calls <sup>8</sup> *the Philosophers, the Patriarchs, of Hereticks*. Therefore they accused Philosophy it self, as <sup>9</sup> *the Production of some evil Inventor, introduced into the World for the ruin and destruction of Mankind*. Even *Tertullian*

himself, for this reason had an extream Pique against Philosophy, and violently decry'd it, especially Logick, as inconsistent with true Christianity, as may be seen at large in his Book, *De Prescriptione adversus Hæreticos*, p. 70, 71.

But to this Objection *Clemens Alexandrinus* replies, that if any Man had been deceived and misled by *Philosophy*, <sup>1</sup> *that that proceeded not from Philosophy, but from the Wickedness of his Nature*; for whosoever has *Wisdom* enough to use it, he is able thereby to make a larger and a more demonstrative Defence of the *Faith* than others.

And concerning Logick in particular, he tells them, that as for Eristick, jangling Logick, for impertinent and contentious Sophisms, which he elegantly calls *τὰς σκιὰς τῶν λόγων*, <sup>2</sup> *the Shadows of Reason*; he disliked it as much as they, and

<sup>8</sup> *Hæreticorum Patriarchæ Philosophi. Adversus Hermog.* p. 266.

<sup>9</sup> Οἱ δὲ καὶ πρὸς κακον ἀν τὴν φιλοσοφίαν εἰσδεδοκέναι τὸν βίον νομίζουσιν ἐπὶ λόγῳ τῶν ἀνθεώπων πρὸς τὸν εὐρέτον πονησον. *Clemens Alexand. Strom. l. 4.* p. 204.

<sup>1</sup> Μήτε τὴν φιλοσοφίαν γιμαίνεσθαι τὸν βίον, Φευδῶν πραγμάτων καὶ φάνων ἔργων δημιουργον ἑπάξχουσαν περιβολῆ πλείονι χρωμένους ἀμηγέπη συγγρυματιαν τιὰ πίστεως ἀποδεικτικὴν ἐκποζίζεσθαι. *Strom. lib. p. 204.*

<sup>2</sup> *Stromat. lib. 6.* p. 500.

<sup>3</sup> *Stromat.* lib. 1. p. 205. 211, 212. 215. and lib. 6. p. 472. 500.

<sup>4</sup> Συλλαμβάνεται φιλοσοφία τῇ πρὸς τὴν ἀληθειαν εὑρέσει. *Strom.* lib. 1. p. 233.

<sup>5</sup> Ταῖς γραφαῖς αὐταῖς μὲν φῶς ἐντίκτει ταῖς ψυχαῖς. *Strom.* lib. 6. p. 472.

<sup>6</sup> Ἡ διαλεκτικὴ συνεργεῖ πρὸς τὸ μὴ ὑποπίπτειν ταῖς καταρεχόσταις αἰγέστεσιν. *Strom.* lib. 1. p. 2. 4.

frequently <sup>3</sup> inveighs against it : but as for the solid substantial part of it, he could not but deem it profitable and advantageous, since <sup>4</sup> it helps us to find out the Truth, <sup>5</sup> enables us the better to understand the Scriptures, and <sup>6</sup> shews us how to refel the Sophisms and cunning arguments of the Hereticks.

But besides this sort of Objectors, there were others, of whom *Clemens Alexandrinus* speaks, who condemned Learning on this account, because

<sup>7</sup> Αὐθεωπίνην σύνεσιν. *Stromat.* lib. 6. p. 476.

<sup>8</sup> Πῶς οὐκ ἄλογον τεκτονικῆς καὶ ναυπηγικῆς χειρὸν νομίζειν φιλοσοφίαν. *Ibidem.* p. 476.

besides, even those of a Smith

<sup>9</sup> Οὐδαμῶς τούτοις ἐν διατρίπτεον ἀλλ' εἰς μόνον τὸ ἀπ' ἀντῶν χρήσιμον, ὡς λαβόντας τοῦτο καὶ κτησαμένους απεῖναι ὄικαδε δύνασθαι ἐπὶ τὴν ἀληθινὴν φιλοσοφίαν. *Ibidem.* p. 475.

<sup>1</sup> Προπαξασκεύαζει τοῖν τῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ προοδοποιοῦσα τον ὑπὸ Χειστον τελειούμενον. *Stromat.* lib. 1. p. 207.

it was <sup>7</sup> humane, unto whom that Father answers, that <sup>8</sup> was most unreasonable, that Philosophy only should be condemned on this account, and that the meanest Arts and Shipwright, which are as much Humane, should be commended and approved ; that <sup>9</sup> they did not rest here and go no farther, but having got what was useful and profitable from it, they ascended higher unto the true Philosophy, <sup>1</sup> making this humane Philosophy a Guide unto, or, a Preparatory for the true Philosophy.

These were the Sentiments of this Learned Father touching the Utility and Excellency of Humane Learning, with respect to the Interpretation of Scripture, the finding

out and defending of the true Faith and Doctrine, and such like things, which were the very Heart and Soul of the Presbyters Function and Employ; from whence we may rationally collect, that it was needful, amiable, and profitable in a Presbyter: I do not say that it was absolutely necessary, for it is apparent that a great part of the ancient Presbyters were not skill'd in it; but I say that it was very useful and advantageous; and they prized and esteemed those Presbyters, who, were vers'd in it, especially those of them who were Arch-Presbyters or Bishops, who, if possible, were to be well read in those parts of Learning, which were proper to confirm the Articles of Christianity, and to confute the Enemies thereof. This is plainly insinuated by *Origen*, when he says, <sup>2</sup> *That the Holy Scriptures exhort us to learn Logick, in that place where it is said by Solomon, he that refuseth reproof, or Logick, as he understandeth it, err-*

<sup>2</sup> Προτέπει καὶ ὁ θεῖος λόγος ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ διαλεκτικὴν ὅπου μὲν Σολομῶντος λέγοντος παιδείᾳ δὲ ἀνεξέλεγκτος— ὅτι δεῖ τον προϊστάμενον τούς λόγου δυνατὸν εἶναι τοὺς αντιλέγοντας ἐλέγχειν. *Contra Celsum*, lib. 6. p. 279.

*eth; and that therefore he that instructeth others, (the Greek word more particularly denotes the Bishop) ought to be able to convince Gain-sayers.*

§. 11. Upon this Examination of the Candidates for the Ministry; and their Approbation by the Presbytery, the next thing that follow'd was their being declared capable of their desired Function, to which they were very seldom presently advanced, but first gave a Specimen of their Abilities in their discharge of other inferior Ecclesiastick Offices, and so proceeded by degrees to the supreme Function of all, as *Cornelius Bishop of Rome, <sup>3</sup> did not presently leap into his Office, but passing thro' all the Ecclesiastical Employments gra-*

<sup>3</sup> *Non iste ad Episcopatum subito pervenit, per omnia ecclesiastica officia promotus— ad Sacerdotii sublime fastigium cunctis religionis gradibus as-*

cendit. *Cypr. Epist.* 52. §. 4. p. 115.

Merebatur talis Clericæ Ordinationis ulteriores gradus et incrementa majora, sed interim placuit ut ab Officio lectionis incipiat. *Idem Epist.* 33. p. 77.

dually ascended thereunto. And as *Aurelius*, a Member of the Church of *Carthage*, <sup>4</sup> began first with the lowermost Office of a Lector, tho' by his extraordinary Merits he deserved those that were more sublime and honourable.

§. 12. That this was their constant and unalterable Practice, I dare not affirm; I rather think the contrary, as I might easily prove, were it pertinent to my Design; this that follows is more certain, that whether they were gradually or presently Ordained Presbyters, <sup>o</sup> their Names were published or propounded to the People of that Church,

<sup>o</sup> Our Author has reduced the gifts or qualifications, touching which a candidate for the ministry was examined, to these four heads:—1. His age; 2. His condition in the world; 3. His conversation; and 4. His understanding. Under this last head, he concurs with *Origen* and *Clemens Alexandrinus* in thinking, that all sorts of human learning, particularly logic and philosophy, were *not only useful, but necessary for a Presbyter*. Our Enquirer, who drew up these particulars, was, no doubt, well aware that, for ascertaining three out of four of them, there was no necessity of appealing to any congregation of men. Little need was there of bringing whole multitudes to a poll, in order to know the age of any candidate, or whether he was involved in worldly affairs, or no; and still less was there, to make enquiries of them respecting his skill or abilities in those depths of human learning, which were thought proper for him.

The only qualification, then, which could fall under the cognisance of such judges, must be that of his moral virtues, or of his life and conversation. Now it is beyond all dispute, that the most satisfactory information respecting this kind of qualification, can be given by that neighbourhood or society, and by those friends, whether lay or clerical, with which any one has been more familiarly acquainted. But how, and in what manner, would a reason-

where they were to be Ordained, that so, if worthy of that Office, they might have the Testimony and Attestation of the People; or if unworthy and unfit, they might be de-

able man conceive such information should be had? By an universal suffrage, and by a majority of voices in a mixed multitude? Surely not only reason, common sense and experience forbid the thought, but our blessed Lord has told us for our warning and direction, that there will be *tares as well as wheat in that very field* which is a symbol of the kingdom of heaven, or of the visible church of God upon the earth. *Not this man, but Barabbas*, was the exclamation of the most eminent congregation of the only Church of God then amongst men, and is a fearful instance of the danger of appealing to the people in hazardous trials. And whosoever shall seriously consider, how expressly the Spirit has foretold, what degeneracy of faith, what corruption of manners, what perilous times shall come in the latter days, when men shall be *false accusers, and haters of those that are good*, &c., and still *retaining the form of godliness, though without the power of it*; whosoever (I say) shall consider this, will be constrained to think that the wisdom of God, who both foresaw and foretold it all, would hardly grant to every individual member of a Church, such an important charter, as that of approving his Bishops and Pastors in all generations to come. On the whole I think it may safely be concluded, that though the region or district in which a candidate usually lives is the most suitable place, and the corporation, or society, whether sacred or civil, of which he is an immediate member, are the most suitable persons for bearing testimony to his moral character; yet that a few select ones out of all the rest, if judiciously chosen, and applied to with an upright mind, are as likely to give a just and sober account in the case, as the promiscuous votes of the mixed multitude; amongst whom are generally to be found (to use our Enquirer's own words) <sup>6</sup> See Enq. ch. 3. §. 4. *ignorance and affection*, that is, weakness in the understanding, and bias upon the will.

§ Ordinationes Sacerdotales non nisi sub Populi assistantis conscientiâ fieri oportere, ut plebe presente vel detegantur malorum crimina, vel bonorum merita prædicentur, et sit ordinatio justa et legitima, quæ omnium suffragio et judicio fuerit examinata. *Cyprian. Epist. 68.*

§. 4. p. 201.

§. 13. ¶ If the People objected nothing against the Persons proposed, but approved their fitness for that Office; the next thing that followed, was their Actual Ordination in that particular Church, where they were so propounded,

¶ The office and character of all persons who are admitted into Holy Orders, extends over the whole world. The Apostles had a general commission to teach and baptize, and to execute all other parts of their office in all nations. And as the Bishops of the Church succeed the Apostles in all the parts of their office, which are of standing and constant use in the Church; so we might reasonably conclude, that the office and character of Bishops, and consequently of inferior ministers, extends over all the world, because those of the Apostles, their predecessors, did so. It is manifest, that the offices of those ministers, whom the Apostles ordained, were not confined to any certain place or Church. For we find that *Timothy, Titus, Crescens* and others, who are spoken of in the Acts and Epistles, travelled with St. *Paul* and other Apostles, and sometimes without them, and exercised their ministerial functions in very distant parts of the world. In the next age after this, *Polycarp*, St. *John's* disciple, and Bishop of *Smyrna*, travelled to *Rome*, where *Anicetus*, the Bishop of that city, out of respect to him, desired him to consecrate the Eucharist; whereas, if *Polycarp's* sacerdotal character had extended no farther than his own diocese of *Smyrna*, he must have been re-ordained at *Rome*, before he could consecrate there.

On the other hand, it is no less manifest that the ordinary exercise of the office of men in Holy Orders, was and is limited to

barred and excluded from it,  
§ by which course the Crimes  
of the Wicked were discovered,  
the Virtues of the Good de-  
clared, and the Ordination  
became valid and Legitimate,  
being examined by the Suffrage  
and Judgment of all.

not that they were only ordain'd for that particular Church, but in it they were ordained Ministers of the particular districts. The Church universal is divided into many lesser Churches, every one of which is governed by its own officers: and if the Bishop or Clergy of one Church, were generally allowed to exercise their office in other Churches, where lawful ministers are already settled, the people would not know whom they should follow: and thus confusion and disorder would ensue, just as it happens in cities and kingdoms where there are opposite pretenders to sovereignty. The Apostles themselves, though every one of them had universal authority, for the most part confined the exercise of their authority to the particular provinces which they had converted. And when particular Apostles interposed in the Churches converted by others, whilst they were alive, it was usually by way of advice, rather than of authority and command. When they had enlarged the empire of Christianity, as far as they judged convenient, they generally fixed in some certain place. St. James was made the fixed Bishop of *Jerusalem*, before the Apostles left it; and St. John resided for the most part at *Ephesus* after he returned from banishment. In the same manner, the rest of the ministers of that age, having ended their travels, commonly settled in particular Churches: *Mark*, the Evangelist, fixed at *Alexandria*, *Titus* in *Crete*, *Timothy* at *Ephesus*; and the rest in other places.

With respect to such officers as were appointed by the Apostles and their successors afterwards, we must carefully distinguish between their ordination, and their designation to particular districts. These things are wholly different, though they often went together; it being manifest that one may be a Bishop or Priest, when he had no authority to exercise his office. This is the case, not only of those, who are ordained to convert heathens, without any title to a particular Church; but of all others who travel beyond the limits of their own district. For a Priest, who comes into a foreign country, where other lawful ministers are settled, still retains his sacerdotal character, and yet has no authority to take upon him the ordinary exercise of his office there. *See Potter's Discourse of Church Government*, ch. 5. § iv.

Church Universal, being at liberty, either to serve that Church, where they received their Orders, or, if they had a Legal Call, to spend their Labours elsewhere, in other Churches, as *Origen* was a Presbyter of *Alexandria*, tho'

<sup>6</sup> Και σαρεῖας τε καὶ Ἱεροσολόμιαν ἐπίσκοποι χεῖγας εἰς πρεσβυτερίου ἀντῶ τεθείκασι. *Euseb. lib. 6. c.* 8. p. 209.

<sup>7</sup> Numidicus Presbyter adscribatur Presbyterorum Carthaginensis numero. *Cyprian. Ep. 35. p. 84.*

a set number, as the Bishop and Deacons were, but were sometimes more, sometimes less; as fit Persons for that Office presented themselves, so were they Ordained, some of whom still remained in the same Church, where they received their Orders; and others went and served other Churches, every one going where the Providence of God did call them.

§. 14. But now their formal Ordination was by Imposition of Hands, usually of the Bishop and Presbyters of the Parish where they were Ordained: For this there needs no other Proof than that Injunction of *St. Paul to Timothy*, 1 Tim. 4. 14. *Neglect not the Gift that is in thee, which was given thee by Prophecy, with the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery.*

As for Imposition of Hands, it was a Ceremony that was variously used in the Old Testament, from whence it was translated into the New, and in the Primitive Church used on sundry occasions, to no purpose here to enumerate: One of those Actions was, Ordination of Church-Officers, wherein, I think, it was never omitted. Thus

<sup>8</sup> Κατηξιώθη του πρεσβυτερίου κατὰ χάριν του ἐπισκόπου του ἐπιθέντος ἀντῶ χεῖγας εἰς πρεσβυτερίου κλη-

was <sup>6</sup> *Ordained in Palestina, by the Bishops of Cæsarea and Jerusalem, and* <sup>7</sup> *Numidicus was a Presbyter of the Church of Carthage, tho' he received his Orders elsewhere.* Hence the Presbyters of a

Church were not confined to

*Novatian was Ordained a Presbyter <sup>8</sup> by Imposition of Hands. And the Bishops of*

*Cesarea and Jerusalem* <sup>9</sup> *Imposed Hands on Origen to* *make him a Presbyter.* The

*gov. Cornel. apud Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 43. p. 245.*

*Imposition of Hands being the Completion of Ordination, or the Final Act thereof;*

<sup>9</sup> *Χεῖχες εἰς πρεσβυτέριον ἀντφ τε-Σείκασι. Apud. Euseb. lib. 6. c. 8. p. 209.*

for whosoever had past through the forementioned Examination and Attestation, and consequently to that had received the laying on of Hands, he was esteemed by all, as legally Ordained, and was ever after deemed to have sufficient Power and Authority to exert and discharge the Duty and Office of the Presbytership, to which by those Actions he was advanced and promoted.

§. 15. Here now I shall conclude what I designed to write, with respect to the first Particular, concerning the Peculiar Acts of the Clergy, under which I have discoursed distinctly of the Office, and Order of Bishops, Priests and Deacons, as also of several other things relating to their Charge and Dignity. As for those other Acts of theirs, which remain to be inquired into, I shall not meddle with them here; for tho' they may have some Rapport or Connexion to this Head, yet they more properly and immediately respect the third, unto which place therefore I shall refer their Discussion and Examination.

## CHAPTER VI.

§. 1. *The Peculiar Acts of the Laity proposed to be discoursed of. What were the Qualifications of Church Membership.* §. 2. *The People, in some Cases had Power to depose their Bishops.* §. 3. *The Conjunct Acts of the Clergy and Laity proposed to be discoursed of. All Ecclesiastical Affairs were managed by their joint Endeavours.*

§. 1. HAVING in the former Chapters treated of the Peculiar Acts of the Clergy, I come now in this to speak something to the Peculiar Acts of the Laity, and to enquire into those Actions and Powers, which they exerted distinctly by themselves. And here it may not be amiss first of all to make an Enquiry into the Constitution of the Laity, that is, how and by what means they were first admitted to be Members of a Church, by Virtue of which Membership they were made Partakers of all those Powers, which we shall hereafter mention.

<sup>1</sup> Per Baptisma Spiritus sanctus accipitur, et sic à baptizatis et Spiritum sanctum consecutis ad bibendum calicem Domini per- venitur. *Cyprian. Epist. 63.*  
§. 5. p. 175.

Now for Answer hereunto, in general, <sup>1</sup> all those that were baptized, were look'd upon as Members of the Church, and had a right to all the Privileges thereof; except they had been guilty of gross and scandalous Sins, as Idolatry, Murder, Adultery, and such like; for then they were cast out of the Church, and not admitted again, till by a Penitent and holy Deportment they had testified their Grief and Sorrow for their unholy and irregular Actions; for as *Origen saith,* <sup>2</sup> We do our utmost, that our Assemblies be composed of good and wise

<sup>2</sup> Ἡμεῖς γὰς ὅση δύναμις πάντα πράττομεν ὑπερ τῶν φρενίμων ἀνδεῶν γενέσθαι τοι συλλογον ἡμῶν. *Contra Celsum, lib. 3. p. 143.*

*Men.* So that <sup>3</sup> none who are admitted to our Congregations, and Prayers, are vicious and wicked, except very rarely it may happen, that a particular bad Man may be concealed in so great a number.

<sup>3</sup> Οὐτέγε ἐν τοῖς συνεδρεύοντις καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς κοινὰς εἰχάς ἐσχομένις εἰ μὴ ἀρχεῖσθαι σπανίας λανθάνων ἐν τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐνσίσκοιτο, τοιοῦτος. Origin contra Celsum, lib. 4. p. 178.

But since the greatest part of Christians were adult Persons at their Conversion to Christianity, and admission into Church-Fellowship and Society, therefore we must consider the Prerequisites of Baptism, since that Sacrament gave them a Right and Title to that admission or reception.

Now those Persons who designed to leave Heathenism and Idolatry, and desired to be Members of a Christian Church, were not presently advanced to that degree, but were first continued a certain space of Time in the rank of the Catechumens, or the Catechised ones: These were Candidates of Christianity, who were to stay some time in that Order for these two Reasons: The one was, That they might be Catechised and Instructed in the Articles of the Christian Faith, from whence they were called *Catechumens*: And the other was, <sup>4</sup> that they might give demonstrations of the reality of their Intentions, by the Change of their Lives, and the Holiness of their Conversations.

<sup>4</sup> Εἰσὶ τινες τεταγμένοι πρὸς τὸ φιλοπευστεῖν τοὺς βίους. Idem Ibidem, p. 142.

Whilst they were in this Estate, or rather in a Preparatory thereunto, <sup>5</sup> they were first privately instructed at home, till they understood the more Intelligible Principles of Christianity, and then they were admitted into the first Rank of Catechumens, who are called by Tertullian

<sup>6</sup> *De Præscript. advers. Hæret.* p. 89.

<sup>7</sup> Τηνικάδε αὐτοὺς εἰσάγοντιν ἴδια μὲν ποιήσαντες τάγμα τῶν ἀρτιάρχομενων καὶ εἰσαγομένων. Origen contra Celsum, lib. 3. p. 142.

<sup>8</sup> Παρασιωπᾶμεν τὰ βαθύτερα τοὺς συνεξχομένους καὶ δεομένους λόγων προπικῶς δυομαζόμενων γάλα. Idem Ibidem, p. 143.

well in this Rank, then they were advanced to the

<sup>9</sup> "Ἐτερον δὲ τὸ τῶν, Idem Ibidem. p. 142.

<sup>1</sup> *De Præscript. advers. Hæret.* p. 89.

Sermons, but also at the Prayers, which were the conclusion of the first Service, and in a little time were baptized, and tarried with the Faithful at the Celebration of the Eucharist, or the Second Service.

This was the manner of Admission amongst the Ancients; none in those days were hastily advanced to the higher Forms of Christianity, but according to their Knowledge and Merit gradually arrived thereunto, being first instructed at home, then admitted to the Didactic part of the Publick, and then to the Supplicative part thereof. It was the wicked Policy of the Hereticks

<sup>2</sup> *Quis Catechumenus, quis fidelis incertum est; pariter audiunt, pariter orant. Tert. de Præscript. advers. Hæret.* p. 88.

<sup>6</sup> *Edocti, or, those that are taught.* These were permitted <sup>7</sup> to come into the Church where they stood in a place by themselves, <sup>8</sup> and were present at the Sermons, which were adapted to their Capacities, being Discourses of the Ordinary and less mysterious Truths of the Gospel. If they behaved themselves

<sup>9</sup> *Superior Rank of the <sup>1</sup> Perfecti, or, Perfect, as Tertullian calls them, who stayed not only at the Lessons and*

<sup>2</sup> *Indifferently to pray and bear with all, making no difference between the Faithful or the Catechumens:* But the True Church distin-

guished and permitted not the Catechumens to enjoy the Priviledges of the Faithful, till they had in a Sense merited them, which was, when thro' a considerable time

of Trial they had evidenced the sincerity of their Hearts, by the Sanctity and Purity of their Lives, and then, as *Origen* saith, <sup>3</sup> *we initiate them in our Mysteries, when they have made a Proficiency in Holiness, and according to the utmost of their power, have reformed their Conversations.* When they had changed their Manners, and rectified their irregular Carriages; then they were washed with the Water of Baptism, and not before; for as *Tertullian* saith, <sup>4</sup> *We are not baptized, that we may cease to sin, but because we have already ceased.*

As soon as they were baptized, they commenced Members of the Church Universal, and of that Particular Church, wherein they were so baptized, and became actual Sharers and Exerters of all the Priviledges and Powers of the Faithful.

§. 2. Now what the distinct and separate Powers of the Faithful were, must be next considered; several of them, to make the Discourse under the former Head complete, we touched there, <sup>5</sup> as their Election and choice of their

<sup>3</sup> In this chapter our Author briefly mentions first the means of becoming members of the Church, and then tells us what powers and actions the *laity* exerted distinctly by themselves.

<sup>4</sup> That we are admitted into the Church by Baptism, is agreed, I think, by all: and that it gives us a right to all the peculiar privileges of the Church, i. e. to all the spiritual means of grace and salvation, in such order as by Divine and Apostolical institution they are administered in it, I take to be equally true. But our learned Author (in his latter clause upon this head) entitles his lay-members to powers and privileges of another nature: they had power, he says, *to elect their Bishops.*

<sup>5</sup> Ἐπὰν δὲ οἱ προκόπτοντες παραστήσωσι τὸ κεκαθάρται ὑπὸ τοῦ κόρυος, καὶ ὅστις δύναμις βέλτιον βεβιωκέται τὸ τηνικάδε καλοῦμεν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὰς παρ' ἡμῖν τελετὰς. *Contra Celsum*, lib. 3. p. 147.

<sup>4</sup> Non ideo abluimur, ut delinquere desinamus, sed quia desinivimus. *De pœnitentia*, p. 379.

Bishops, their Attestation to those that were Ordained, and such like, which will be unnecessary and tedious to repeat here; and others of them cannot be well separated from their Conjunct Acts with the Clergy, but must with

That the earliest ages of the Church acknowledged no such power, whatever the encroachments of the people, or the condescension of some provincial synods might have brought to pass afterwards, seems clear to me by the evidence of reason and fact.

Supposing there was such a power, from whence, I ask, was it given, and by what authority was it claimed? It was not employed by our blessed Lord himself; nor was it given in commission to his principal Apostles, who manifestly ordained both Bishops and Deacons in such a manner as was inconsistent with it. The Apostles next in order to them, and adopted into their college, ordained Elders for the Churches, by their own personal authority and choice; and St. *Paul*, being one of them, conveyed the like ordaining power to other supreme pastors placed by himself over the respective Churches he committed to their care, neither enjoining nor advising them to make use of such a popular election, but rather cautioning them to be wary in the matter.

Whence then could such a right or power arise, but from the free consent and prudential laws or canons of ancient Bishops in some provincial synods amongst themselves? As for general

<sup>7</sup> See Enq. ch. 8. § 3.

councils in the three first centuries, I am of the <sup>7</sup> Enquirer's opinion, that there were none such within that period; and I

<sup>8</sup> See Enq. ch. 8. § 9.

may affirm with him also <sup>8</sup> that

*their decrees were binding and obligatory on those particular Churches only, whose representatives they were: and consequently whatever they decreed for discipline or order within their own precincts or jurisdiction, which had not the stamp of Divine institution or command upon it, they had also power to disannul or repeal; and the power of all provinces in this respect was the same.*

Hence this plain truth, I think, may naturally be inferred; that

them be discoursed of in the next Head, so that there will be little or nothing to say here of their Discretive and Particular Acts, save, that as they had Power to elect their Bishops, so if their Bishops proved afterwards scandalous and grossly wicked in Life, or at least Heretical in Doctrine, and Apostates from the Faith, they had Power to depose them, and to chuse others in their room. This I must be forced also to mention in another place, so that for the Proof of it, I shall urge only the Case of *Martialis* and *Basilides*, two Spanish Bishops, who for Apostacy and Idolatry, were deserted by their Parishes, who elected *Felix* and *Sabinus* Bishops in their steads. After this Deposition *Martialis* and *Basilides* claim'd the Exercise of their Episcopal Authority, but their Parishes denied it to them; and that they might not seem to act by a Power, which belonged not unto them, they sent to several Bishops in *Africa*, to know their Judgment thereupon, who being convened in a Synod *Anno 258*, whereof *Cyprian* was President, approved and commended their Proceedings, assuring them, <sup>5</sup> *That it was according to the Divine Law, which was express, that none but those who were holy and*

<sup>5</sup> *Desiderio vestro divina præcepta respondent quibus jampriedem mandantur voce cœlesti, et*

whatsoever province in the Catholic Church, had never once consented to such a canon of discipline among themselves, as that of *popular election*; or if after having once decreed it, they had by their own canons or constitutions, directly or virtually repealed or disannulled it again; the Christian laity within the district or jurisdiction of any such province, could have no right or charter to claim such an *electing power* in any of the ordinations there. For a claim of power, right, or privilege within the Christian Church, without a warrantable grant from that head or fountain of power, from whence alone it can proceed, whether it be originally Divine, or purely Ecclesiastical, approaches near to the definition of usurpation itself.

Dei lege præscribitur, quos et quales oporteat deservire altari —in Levitico præcipit Dominus et dicit. Homo, in quo fuerit macula et vitium non accedet offerre dona Deo—nec sibi plebs blandiatur quasi immunis esse à contagio delicti possit, cum Sacerdote peccatore communicans.—Propter quod plebs obsequens præceptis dominicis et Deum metuens, a peccatore præposito separare se debet, nec se ad Sacrilegi Sacerdotis Sacrificia miscere ; quando ipsa maxime habeat potestatem vel eligendi dignos Sacerdotes, vel indignos recusandi. *Epist. 68. apud Cyprian.* §. 1, 3, 4. p. 200, 201.

Epistle, which flatly assert the People's Power to depose a wicked and Scandalous Bishop.

But however, tho' the People had such a Power appertaining to them, yet being subject to be guided by Giddiness, Envy or Pride ; where Churches were regularly associated, and their circumstances did permit it, they did not by virtue of their power alone, upon their own single Judgment depose their Bishop ; but that their Actions might be the more Authentick and Unquestionable, they had their Complaints heard, and the whole Affair examined by the Synod to which they belonged, or by some other Bishops, who, if their Accusations were just and valid, might concur with them in the Deposition of their Bishop, and in the Election of a new one : <sup>1</sup> And from

<sup>1</sup> Our Enquirer is not only himself conscious, that at the de-

blameless should approach God's Altar ; That if they had continued to have communicated with their Profane Bishops, they would have been Accessaries to their Guilt and Villany, and would have contradicted those Examples and Commands in Scripture, which oblige a People to separate from their wicked and ungodly Ministers ; That they had not acted irregularly in what they had done ; since as the People had the chief Power of choosing worthy Bishops, so also of refusing those that were unworthy : And many other such like Passages are to be found in that Synodical

hence it is, that we find the Power of Deposing Bishops ascribed to Synods, <sup>6</sup> as <sup>6</sup> *Apud Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 30. Paulus Samosatenus Bishop* p. 282.

posing of any Bishop, a convention of Bishops was always present, wherever it could be had; but he admits that the deposing power is directly ascribed to synods by the Fathers of the Church, and gives instances of it in the cases of *Paulus Samosatenus* and *Pri-vatus*, Bishop of *Lambese*; to which indeed he might have added several more.<sup>9</sup> But all this

synodical solemnity, in our Author's account, was owing to the condescension of the people, <sup>9</sup> See Euseb. Hist. Eccl. 1. 7. c. 30. & Cypr. Ep. 55. § 11. Edit. Oxon.

who would not, though they

might and could, do all, by virtue of their own power. The sacred synods of the primitive Church were to be ready at the summons of any people, who thought it necessary to change their Bishop. And why? that the people's *actions might be the more authentic and unquestionable*: more *authentic*, though they had full authority, it seems, to act by themselves; and less *questionable*, though the *African* council (to use our Enquirer's own words) had *flatly asserted the people's power to depose*. He says further, the synod was allowed to *examine their complaints and accusations*; and therefore these Bishops were commissioners besides to examine witnesses for them, and when that was done, *they might concur in the deposition with them*. And if they only *might* do so, then they might *not* also, since this whole hypothesis of our Enquirer's *popular power* implies any other authority to be needless. Hence it appears the sacred synods were to be ornaments and under-officers in this great solemnity, whilst the *venerable court of laity* proceeded to depose their Bishop by their own inherent right and power, and to choose another in his stead. And what is still more strange, Fathers and Historians tell the world, that Bishops in their times were deposed by synods of Bishops in the Church; and our Enquirer himself also, against the plain sense of all that he had said before, incautiously owns that such a provincial synod was even *necessary* in the election or deposition of a Bishop.

of *Antioch*, was deprived by a Synod held in that place, and <sup>7</sup> *Nonaginta Episcoporum sententiâ condemnatum. Cyprian. Epist. 55. §. 11. p. 140.*

in the Deposition of a Bishop, as in his Election. As a Bishop was elected by the People, over whom he was to preside, and by the neighbouring Bishop, so was he deposed by the same; both which things seem to be intimated in that Passage of the forementioned Synodical

<sup>8</sup> *Quando ipsa maximè habeat potestatem, vel eligendi dignos Sacerdotes, vel indignos recusandi. Apud Cyp. Ep. 68. §. 4. p. 201.*

<sup>7</sup> *Privatus Bishop of Lambese, was deposed by a Synod of ninety Bishops.* The same Method being observed

Epistle, wherein it is said, <sup>8</sup> *That the People chiefly has power either to chuse worthy Bishops, or to refuse unworthy ones.* The word chiefly implying, that besides the

People, some others were necessary to concur with them either in the Election or Deprivation of a Bishop; and those were the neighbouring Bishops, or to speak more properly, that Synod to which they appertained; of which Synods, of their Power and Authority, I shall discourse more largely elsewhere.

§. 3. <sup>9</sup> Having thus briefly dispatched the Second Head, I now proceed to handle the Third, which respects the

<sup>9</sup> After the extraordinary account which our Enquirer has given us of the *peculiar acts* and *special powers* of the laity of the primitive Church, he proceeds to treat of the *conjunct acts* of Clergy and laity. *He finds that, in general, all things relating to the government and policy of the Church were performed by their joint consent and administration.* He owns, with St. *Ignatius*, that the people could do nothing without their Bishop, and seems satisfied, that in every Church it was so; but to prove that the Bishops could do nothing without their people's consent, he advances nothing more than what I have already shewn is no proof at all of Catholic practice, and much less of Ecclesiastical law; i. e. St.

Conjunct Acts of the Clergy and Laity : In answer whereunto, I find, that, in general, all things relating to the Government and Policy of the Church, were performed by their joint Consent and Administrations, <sup>9</sup> the People were to do nothing without the Bishop : And on the contrary, <sup>1</sup> he did nothing without the knowledge and consent of his people. <sup>2</sup> When any Letters came from Foreign Churches, they were received, and read before the whole Church, and <sup>3</sup> the whole Church agreed upon common Letters to be sent to other Churches. And so for all other matters relating to the Policy of the Church, they were managed <sup>4</sup> by the common advice and Counsel of the Clergy and Laity, both concurred to the Discharge of those Actions, to recite every particular Act whereof would be extremely tedious and fruitless. Wherefore in speaking hereunto, I shall confine my self to those of their Complex Acts, that regarded the Discipline of the Church, which being an Answer to the Second Part of our Enquiry, *viz.* An Enquiry into the Discipline of the Primitive Church, shall be the Subject of the following Chapter.

*Cyprian's private purpose* to consult with his Clergy and people in the chief affairs of the government of his Church ; which as he has himself explained it, was a voluntary condescension of his own, and therefore not obligatory on others.

<sup>9</sup> Ἀγεν του ἐπισκόπου μηδὲν πραχθεῖν  
τημᾶς. Ignat. Epist. ad Tralles.  
p. 47.

<sup>1</sup> A primordio Episcopatūs mei statuerim, nihil sine consensu plebis meae privata sententia gerere. *Cyprian. Epist.* 6. §. 5. p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Plebi legere te semper literas nostras. *Cyprian. Epist.* 55. §. 21. p. 144.

<sup>3</sup> Vicarias vero pro nobis, ego, et Collegæ, et Fraternitas omnis, has ad vos literas mitimus. *Idem, Ep.* 58. §. 2. p. 163.

<sup>4</sup> In commune tractabimus. *Cyprian. Epist.* 6. §. 5. p. 17.

## CHAPTER VII.

§. 1. *The Necessity, Quality, and Excellency of Discipline.* Six things propounded to be handled. 1. *For what Faults Offenders were censured.* 2. *Who were the Judges that censured.* 3. *The manner of their Censures.* 4. *What their Censures were.* 5. *The Course that Offenders took to be absolved.* 6. *The manner of their Absolution.* §. 2. *Censures were inflicted for all sorts of Crimes, especially for Idolatry.* §. 3. *The whole Church were the Judges that composed the Ecclesiastical Consistory.* The Executive Power lodg'd in the Clergy, and the Legislative both in Clergy and Laity. In difficult Points some neighbouring Bishops assisted at the Decision of them. §. 4. *The manner of their Censures.* §. 5. *Their Censures consisted in Excommunications, and Suspensions; the dreadfulness thereof.* §. 6. *The Course that Offenders took to be absolved: They first lay groveling and weeping at the Church Doors.* §. 7. *Then admitted into the Rank of the Penitents.* Their Behaviour during their time of Penance. §. 8. *How long their Penance was.* In some Cases the fixed Period anticipated; when ended, the Penitents were examined by the Court, and if approved, then Absolved. §. 9. *The manner of their Absolution.* They came into the Church with all Expressions of Sorrow, publickly confessed the Sin for which they had been censured. The Church was tenderly affected with their Confession. §. 10. *After Confession they were Absolved by the Clergies Imposition of Hands.* §. 11. *Then admitted to the Churches Peace.* The Clergy generally restored only to Lay Communion.

§. 1. \* AS all Governments are necessitated to make use of

\* The discipline of the primitive Church, which comes next to be considered, is introduced, with proper observations on the

Laws, and other Political Means, to preserve their Constitution. So the Church of Christ, which has a certain Government annexed to it, that it may preserve its self from Ruine and Confusion, has certain Laws and Orders

necessity, nature and admirable advantages of it. It is agreed by all, I believe, that the *Christian* Church is a body or society of men, separated from the rest of the world, and united to God and to themselves by a Divine covenant. I say a body or society, in opposition to *particular men* and to a *confused multitude*: for though it does consist of particular men, yet those men are considered, not in a private capacity, but as united into a regular society. The *Jewish* Church had exact order; and the *Christian* Church with respect to the union and order of its parts is not only called a *body*, but a *spiritual building*, an *holy temple*, and the *temple of God*. And if all societies have authority to prescribe rules for the behaviour of their members, without which they would even fall into confusion, much more has the Church of God, which is a society instituted for spiritual and supernatural ends. There are indeed standing and perpetual laws in the Church, which can receive no addition, or diminution from any authority, but that which first gave them force: such are the articles of faith, and the moral duties of Christianity. But then, in determining matters of order and decency, which never were, or can be fixed by constant and invariable rules, no reason can be given why the Church should not have the same authority which is exercised by all other societies whatever: otherwise its constitution would be defective, and such as could not answer the ends for which it was founded. In short, the *Christian* Church, being a society, has a government annexed to it; it is a spiritual one, and therefore her own proper laws, orders and penalties, are purely spiritual too, admonitions, excommunications, and suspensions, and the like (as our learned Author here observes) being peculiar acts of this peculiar power. All the high encomiums, which are here transcribed from the writings of St. *Cyprian*, concerning the usefulness, excellency, and necessity of this holy discipline, are no more than what are due to it. May the respec-

for the due Regulation of her Members, and Penalties annexed to the Breaches thereof. But herein lies the difference between the one and the other; The Penalties and Executions of the former, are like its Constitution, purely Humane and Carnal; but those of the other are Spiritual; as Religion was at first received by Spiritual and Voluntary, and not by Carnal and Involuntary means:

<sup>5</sup> Nec Religionis est cogere Religionem, quæ sponte suscipi debeat, non vi. *Ad Scapulam*, p. 447.

for as *Tertullian* says, <sup>5</sup> *It is not Religion, to force a Religion, which ought to be willingly, not forcibly received.*

So by the same means it

was continued, and the Penalties of the Breach of it were of the same Nature also. The Churches Arms were Spiritual, consisting of Admonitions, Excommunications, Suspensions, and such like, by the wielding of which she Governed her Members, and preserved her own Peace and Purity. Now this is that which is called Discipline, which is absolutely necessary to the Unity, Peace, and being of the Church; for where there is no Law, Government or Order, that Society cannot possibly subsist, but must sink in its own Ruins and Confusions.

To recite the numerous Encomiums of Discipline, that are interspers'd in the Writings of the Ancients, would be an endless Task: Let this one suffice out of *Cyprian*,

<sup>6</sup> *Disciplina custos spei, retinaculum fidei, Dux itineris salutaris, fomes ac nutrimentum bonaे indolis, magistra virtutis, facit in Christo manere semper*

<sup>6</sup> *Discipline, says he, is the Keeper of Hope, the Stay of Faith, the Captain of Salvation, the Fewel and Nutriment of a good Disposition, the Mistress of Virtue, that makes*

tive stewards in the house of God, to whom any part of this important charge is committed, be ever mindful of it! Who they specially are, and in the primitive Church were ever owned to be, is the question now before us.

*us perpetually abide in Christ, and live to God, and tend towards the Heavenly and Divine Promises. This to follow is saving, but to despise and neglect is deadly. The Holy Ghost speaks in Psal. 2. 12. Keep Discipline, lest the Lord be angry, and ye perish from the right way, when his wrath is kindled but a little against you. And again, in Psal. 50. 16. But unto the Sinner God said, What hast thou to do to declare my Law, and to take my Judgments into thy Mouth? Thou hatest Discipline, and castest my Words behind thee. And again we read in Wisdom 3. 11. He that casteth off Discipline is unhappy. And by Solomon we have received this command from Wisdom, in Prov. 3. 11. My Son, forget not the Discipline of the Lord, nor faint when thou art corrected; for whom the Lord loveth he correcteth. But if God corrects whom he loves, and corrects them that they may amend; Christians also, and especially Ministers do not hate, but love those whom they correct, that they may amend, since God hath also fore-*

ac jugiter Deo vivere, et ad promissa cœlestia et divina præmia pervenire. Hanc et sectari salubre est, et aversari ac negligere letale. In Psalmis loquitur Spiritus sanctus: Contineat Disciplinam, ne forte irascatur Dominus, et pereatis à via recta, cum exarserit cito ira ejus super vos. Et iterum; peccatori autem dixit Deus, ad quid exponis justificationes meas, et assumis testamentum meum per os tuum? Tu autem odisti Disciplinam, et abjecisti Sermones meos retro. Et denuo legimus: Disciplinam quia abjicit, infelix est. Et de Salomone mandata Sapientiae monentis accipimus: Fili ne neglexeris disciplinam Domini, nec defeceris ab eo correptus. Quem enim diligit Dominus corripit. Si autem Deus quem diligit, corripit, et ad hoc corripit, ut emendet, fratres quoque et maximè Sacerdotes, non oderunt; sed diligunt eos quos corripiunt, ut emendent; quando et Deus per Hieremiam ante prædixerit, et tempora nostra significaverit, dicens: et dabo vobis pastores secundum cor meum, et pascent vos pascentes cum Disciplina. *De Disciplina et Habitu Virginum, §. 1. p. 265, 266.*

*told our Times in Jer. 3. 15. And I will give you Pastors after mine own Heart, and they shall feed you in Discipline.*

Now this is that Discipline, *viz.* The Power and Authority of the Church exerted by her, for her own Preservation, in the censuring of her offending Members, that I am now to Discourse of; for the clearer apprehension whereof these six Queries must be examined into, 1. For what Faults offenders were censured. 2. Who were the Judges that censured. 3. The manner of their Censures. 4. What their Censures were. 5. The Course that Offenders took to be Absolved. And, 6. The manner of their Absolution.

§. 2. As to the first of these, For what Faults Offenders were censured. I answer,

<sup>7</sup> So was *Felicissimus* in *Cypr.*

<sup>7</sup> *Schism,*

<sup>8</sup> *Heresie,*

<sup>9</sup> *Covetousness,*

<sup>1</sup> *Gluttony,*

<sup>2</sup> *Fornication,*

<sup>3</sup> *Adultery,*

and for

<sup>4</sup> *all other Sins whatsoever,*

none excepted; nay, the

holy and good Men of those

days were so zealous against

Sin, that they used the

strictest Severities against

the least appearances of it,

not indulging or sparing the

least Branch of its pestiferous Production, but smartly

punishing the least sprout of it, its lesser Acts, as well as

those that were more scandalous and notorious.

*Cyprian* writes, that not only

<sup>5</sup> *Epist.* 12 §. 1. p. 37.

<sup>5</sup> *Gravissima et extrema delicta,*

*The greatest and most heinous Crimes,* but even *Minora Delicta,*

*The Lesser Faults* were punished by their Ecclesiastical

Courts, so cutting off Sin in its Bud, and by the Excision

of its lesser Acts and Ebullitions, preventing its more

gross and scandalous Eruptions. That particular Sin which

<sup>1</sup> *Origen. Ibidem.*

<sup>2</sup> *Cyprian. Ep.* 52. §. 13. p.

118.

<sup>3</sup> *Cyprian. Ep.* 38. §. 2. p. 90.

<sup>4</sup> *Origen. contra Celsum, lib.* 3.

p. 142.

<sup>5</sup> *Epist.* 12 §. 1. p. 37.

they most severely punished, and through the frequency of Persecutions had numerous Objects of, was Apostacy from the Truth, or a lapsing into Idolatry, which Crime was always prosecuted with the extremest Rigour ; of which *Ninus*, *Clementianus* and *Florus* were sad Instances, who tho' they had for some time courageously endured their Persecutions and Torments, yet at last, thro' the violence thereof, and the weakness of their Flesh, unwillingly consenting to the Heathen Idolatries, were for that Fault forced to undergo three Years Penance ; and had it not been for their ancient Merits, must have underwent it much longer, as may be seen at large in the 53d Epistle of *Cyprian*. And thus by these and such like severe and rigorous Courses, those primitive Virtuosos endeavoured to prevent sin, and to make all the Professors of the Christian Religion truly holy and pious ; for as *Origen* saith, <sup>6</sup> *We use our utmost Endeavours, that our Assemblies be composed of wise and honest Men.*

<sup>6</sup> Ήμεῖς γὰρ ὅση δύναμις πάντα πεάττομεν ὑπερ τῶν φρονίμων, ἀνθρώπων γενέσθαι τὸν σύλλογον ἡμῶν.

Contra Celsum, lib. 3. p. 143.

§. 3. v As for the Judges that composed the Consistory or Ecclesiastical Court, before whom offending Criminals

v Our learned Enquirer affirms, that in the Ecclesiastical Court of the primitive Church, the laity and Clergy were in joint commission, and all of them judges there ; insomuch that they performed all things belonging to the government and policy of the Church, by their joint consent and administration.

His fundamental proof of this is taken from such interpretations, as he tells us some of the primitive Fathers made of *Matthew* xvi. 18, 19 ; where the *power of the keys* is promised to St. *Peter* only by *name* ; and *Matt.* xviii. 15, 16, 17, 18, where in general terms it seems to be given to the *Church*. It is remarkable, that he takes no notice of a third text of Scripture, where *this power* was more solemnly promised, and by a sacred symbol from the mouth of the blessed *Jesus*, assured to those persons

were convened, and by whom censured, they will appear to have been the whole Church, both Clergy and Laity ; not the Bishop without the People, nor the People without the Bishop, but both conjunctly constituted that Supreme Tribunal, which censured Delinquents and Transgressors, as will be evident from what follows.

All the Power that any Church-Court exerted, was derived from that Promise and Commission of Christ, in *Matth. 16. 18, 19.* *Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock will I build my Church, and the Gates of Hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind on Earth, shall be bound in Heaven ; whatsoever thou shalt loose on Earth, shall be loosed in Heaven.* Now this Power some of the Ancients mention, as given to the Bishops. <sup>w</sup> Thus

for whom it was peculiarly designed ; I mean St. *John xx. 21, 22, 23*, where our Lord is represented as breathing on those disciples, whom he then sent, (i. e. the *Apostles alone*,) and saying, *receive ye the Holy Ghost ; whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them ; and whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained.*

<sup>w</sup> This power of *the keys*, as promised to St. *Peter*, in St. *Matt. xvi. 18, 19*, our Enquirer confesses, (on *Origen's* authority,) *the Bishops of the primitive Church applied to themselves*, and further owns, that *Origen allowed it to be orthodox in those Bishops to do so, if only they held Peter's confession, and were such as the Church of Christ might be built upon* : i. e. so long as they were true and orthodox Bishops of the Catholic Church. But what is more surprising, our Author tells us that St. *Cyprian* himself was of the same opinion ; and for the proof of this assertion, he quotes the very passage, which I have elsewhere cited from that holy martyr : *the Church is founded upon the Bishops, by whom every Ecclesiastical action is governed.* St. *Cyprian* then, it seems, thought just the same as *Origen* did in this matter : viz. that the orthodox Bishops might justly claim the power of

*Origen writes, 'That the Bishops applyed to themselves this Promise that was made to Peter, teaching, That they had received the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven from our Saviour, that so whatsoever was bound, that is, condemned by them on Earth, was bound in Heaven ; and whatsoever was loosed by them, was also loosed*

7. Επεὶ δὲ ὁι τοι τόποι της ἐπισκόπης ἐκδικοῦντες χρῆν ται τῷ ῥητῷ ὡς Πέτρος καὶ τάς κλειδάς της τῶν ὄυρανῶν βασιλείας ἀπὸ του σωτῆρος ἐιληφότες διδασκουσί τε τὰ ὑπ' ἀντων δεδεμένα τουτέστι καταδεικασμένα, καὶ ἐν οὐρανοῖς δεδέσθαι, καὶ τὰ ὑπ' ἀντων ἄφεσιν ειληφόται, καὶ ἐν οὐρανοῖς λελύσθαι λεκτέον ὅτι ὑγιῆς λέγουσιν ει ἔχουσιν ἔργον δι' ὡς εἴρηται ἐκεινῷ τῷ Πέτρῳ, σὺ εἰ Πέ-

the keys to themselves. Now here our Author inadvertently concedes a very important point. He has quoted several passages from St. *Cyprian's* writings, in order to prove, that not only Presbyters had a *ruling power* inherent in their orders, in respect of excommunications, absolutions, and such like acts of the power of the keys ; but that the laity also, as well as they, had a share of *legislative, decreutive, judicatorial* power in the Consistory of the Church ; and now he declares this very St. *Cyprian* himself to have been of opinion, that in the primitive Church, the Bishops alone, by virtue of the original grant of the keys to St. *Peter*, justly appropriated all that power to themselves. What can more directly confirm all that I have said before on this subject ? namely, that whatever part either Presbyters, Deacons, or people had, in any such authoritative acts of discipline or government in his Church, it was upon one or other of these two accounts ; either that St. *Cyprian* commissioned some amongst them, whose character and station rather qualified them for the office, in many cases, to execute some parts of discipline, which he authentically decreed to be done by virtue of the power of the keys invested in himself ; or else, that he merely condescended, according to his purpose at the first, to take counsel, information, and advice only, from his Clergy and people, in all important acts of his administration.

τέος, καὶ εἰ τελικοῦτοι εἰσιν ὡς ἐπ' ἀντοῖς ὑπὸ Χριστοῦ δικοδομεῖσθαι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ ἐπ' ἀντοῖς ἐνόγνως τοῦτο ἀναφέρειτ' αὐτόν. Commentar. in Matthæum, Tom. 12. p. 279. Vol. 1.

<sup>8</sup> Ecclesia super Episcopos constituantur; et omnis actus Ecclesiæ, per eosdem præpositos gubernetur. *Epist.* 27. §. 1. p. 62.

in Heaven; which, says he, may be Orthodoxly enough applied to them, if they hold Peter's Confession, and are such as the Church of Christ may be built upon. And so also says Cyprian, <sup>8</sup> *The Church is founded upon the Bishops, by whom every Ecclesiastical Action is governed.*

Others of the Ancients mention this Power, as given to the whole Church, according to that in *\*Matth.* 18.

\* From this passage of Scripture, it appears that our Lord instructed his Church to exercise a judicial power over its members. For here is clearly a description of a judicial process: he who has been injured, is first directed to tell the offender of his fault privately between themselves; if that have no effect, to admonish him before witnesses; if this admonition also prove unsuccessful, to complain to the Church. Then, "if he neglects to hear the Church," follows the Church's sentence, whereby the obstinate offender is separated from the communion of the faithful, and reduced into the state of heathens. Which being decreed by virtue of Christ's commission, our Lord promises to ratify in heaven.

Here perhaps it may be asked, whether by the Church, and afterwards by the congregation of two or three assembled in the name of Christ, be meant the whole society of Christians, or only the rulers of it? Now though it must be admitted, that sentences of this kind were pronounced in the public assembly, we must not infer, that *all* the members of the assembly gave their voice before those sentences could be passed. The Church's censures were pronounced in public assemblies, where as many as desired, might be present, but they received their force from the governors of the Church; who having been invested with authority to *make* laws, no doubt, had power also to *pass sentence* on those who *broke* them. For if there be any difference, legislation is rather

15, 16, 17, 18. *If thy Brother shall trespass against thee, go and tell him his Fault between thee and him alone; if he shall hear thee, thou hast gained thy Brother; but if he will not hear thee, take with thee one or two more, that in the mouth of two or three Witnesses every Word may be established; and if he shall neglect them, tell it unto the Church; but if he neglect to hear the Church, let him be unto thee as an Heathen and a Publican.* Verily, I say unto you, *Whatsoever ye shall bind on Earth shall be bound in Heaven, and whatsoever ye shall loose on Earth shall be loosed in Heaven.* By the Church here is to be understood, the whole Body of a particular Church or Parish, unto which some of the Fathers attribute the Power of the Keys,

as *Tertullian*, <sup>9</sup> *If thou fear-* <sup>9</sup> Si clausum putas Cœlum,

a higher authority than jurisdiction. Nor is it an uncommon way of speaking to ascribe to any society what is done by the rulers of it. Thus, in political bodies, any judicial sentence pronounced by those who have authority, is the sentence of the whole body, though perhaps the greater part of the members never heard of it. And war, proclaimed by the supreme powers of any kingdom, brings all the members of the kingdom into a state of war, whether they expressly consented to it or not. In the same manner, what is here spoken of the Church, is ascribed by St. *Chrysostom*<sup>1</sup> and other ancient Fathers, to the rulers of it; <sup>1</sup> St. Chrysostomus. Εἰπε τῷ that complaints are to be made to them, and they are to pass sentence when any members of the Church are accused. See *Potter's Discourse of Church Government*, c. 5. §. 8.

<sup>9</sup> Others of the ancients (says our learned Author) mention this power as given to the *whole Church*, according to St. *Matt.* xviii. 17, 18; where *by the Church* (he thinks) *is to be understood the whole body of a particular Church, or Parish, unto which some of the Fathers attribute the power of the keys.*

It is remarkable, that neither *Tertullian*, nor *Firmilian* argue

<sup>1</sup> Εὐχλησία, τουτέστι τοῖς προεξεύ-  
ονσι. Conf. Theophylact. &c.

memento claves ejus hic Domini-  
num Petro, et per eum Ecclesiæ  
reliquisse. *Scorpiac.* p. 612.

*est Heaven to be shut, remem-  
ber the Lord gave its Keys to  
Peter, and by him to the*

from *Matt.* xviii. 17, 18, at all, but from the texts mentioned before ; the one from *Matt.* xvi. 19, the other from *St. John* xx. 21, &c. *Tertullian's* evidence (so far as our Enquirer is

pleased to give it) is this : <sup>2</sup> *If thou fearest heaven to be shut, remember the Lord gave its keys to Peter, and by him to the Church.* The rest of the sentence is ; *which keys, every one who is brought to the question here, and confesses [Christ,] will carry along with him.* If our Author had given us the *whole* of

this period, as well as the occasion of it, we should have needed but little more to understand what *Tertullian* meant. For in what sense does this sagacious Father affirm, that the keys given to *Peter* were thereby given to the Church ; so that martyrs or confessors in it, should carry them to heaven with them ? Was it that they should exercise an Ecclesiastical discipline with them ? If we take the passage in this sense, we might as well conclude, that those worthies were to continue such a discipline in the other world. No ; the occasion of the words will clearly ex-

pound them to us. He was arguing against heretics, <sup>3</sup> who held it needless for persecuted Christians to confess Christ on earth : it was enough, they said, to confess him hereafter in heaven. *Tertullian* <sup>4</sup> replies,

<sup>3</sup> *Adseverat diabolus illuc con-  
fitendum, ut suadeat hic negan-  
dum.* *Tert. ib.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.* p. 627.

there is no possibility of getting to heaven, unless we be first approved here ; no occasion for such trials there, where no persecution can be ; no fanciful porters, as the Pagans dream, to stop a Christian's coming in ; Christ had opened heaven for every true

*Church.* <sup>z</sup> And *Firmilian*, <sup>1</sup> Potestas remittendorum peccatorum Apostolis data est, et Christian by his own entrance thither: or if *you think that heaven is still shut*, (says he,) *remember the Lord left the keys to Peter, and by him to the Church, which every one who is brought to the trial here, and confesses Christ, will carry along with him.* Now here, in reference, no doubt, to our Saviour's words, *Matt. xvi.* 19, a great advantage is declared to accrue to every member of the Church by the grant of the keys to St. *Peter*, and of such a nature, that, if rightly used, it would help them all to heaven. The power of the keys was so given to the Church in general, that if men were truly penitent, and unfeignedly believed the holy Gospel, they would find the comfortable sentence of absolution pronounced by God's lawful ministers on earth, ratified by their Divine Master himself in heaven; and perhaps the virtue of the grant to St. *Peter* would extend even to martyrs and confessors, through their very confession alone (where no more was to be had) as the ancients commonly believed. This comes up, I think, to the sense of *Tertullian's* whole period, but marks out no particular persons, as entitled to the present power of those keys; it merely implies that by means of that power an universal blessing accrues to the Church, and to all truly penitent and believing members of it. See Appendix, No. 15.

<sup>z</sup> Our Enquirer instances in *Firmilian*, Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*, as another of the ancients, who understood *this promise of the power of the keys* to be made to the *whole Church*. This Father was arguing, warmly indeed, against *Stephen*, Bishop of *Rome*, for allowing that remission of sins could be given, (to use his own words,) *within the synagogues of heretics*, i. e. among such as were out of the Catholic Church. He urges *Matt. xvi.* 19, and *John xx. 22, 23*, to prove <sup>5</sup> that it was *Peter alone* to whom Christ said, *whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven*; and that afterwards, it was the *Apostles alone*, upon whom he breathed, and gave the same

<sup>5</sup> Qualis error sit, et quanta sit cæcitas ejus, qui remissionem peccatorum dicit apud synagogas häreticorum dari posse? *Apud Cypr. Ep. 75. Edit. Oxon. §. 9.*

Ecclesiis quas illi à Christo missi, constituerunt, et Episcopis qui eis Ordinatione vicariâ successerunt. *Apud Cyp. Ep.* 75. §. 4. p. 240.

*is given to the Apostles, and to the Churches which they constituted, and to the Bishops who succeed them. Now*

power; and he thence concludes,

in the quotation here insisted upon,<sup>6</sup> *that the power of forgiving sins was given to the Apostles, and to the Churches which they planted, and to the Bishops who succeeded them, by being ordained into their places. Now*

<sup>6</sup> *Potestas ergo peccatorum remittendorum Apostolis data est, et Ecclesiis, quas illi à Christo missi constituerunt, et Episcopis, qui eis ordinatione vicariâ successerunt.* *Ibid.*

here a question comes in our

way; why did *Firmilian* so distinctly say, that this power of the keys was given *to the Bishops*, when he had but just before said it was given *to the Churches*? I conceive that, in his opinion, it was given *to the Churches* in one sense, and *to the Bishops* in another. *The power of remitting sins*

*(says he,) was given to the Apostles; and* <sup>7</sup> *it was the Apostles alone, upon whom Christ breathed, &c.;* (and

that was undoubtedly without any joint commission to Apostles and brethren,) and then he immediately adds, that *it was given to the Bishops as their successors by a vicarious ordination.* What was this but in plain terms to say, that the Bishops were ordained to enter upon the Apostles' possession of that power of which he was then speaking, and to hold it in such a manner as they themselves had held it? So far, I think, *Firmilian's* own words explain themselves. But what did the good Bishop mean, (it will be asked,) when in the intermediate clause he tells us, that the *power was given to the Churches which the Apostles constituted?* The subject he was upon, as clearly explains this clause, as his own words did the other. He was arguing, that Baptism without the pale of the Church was of no force, because remission of sins was only to be had within it. Now, having only proved, that the Apostles first, and Bishops after them, were in sole possession of

<sup>7</sup> *In solos Apostolos insufflavit Christus, dicens. Ibid.*

from this different attribution of the Power of the Keys, we may infer this, That it was so lodged both in Bishops and People, as that each had some share in it : The Bishop had the whole Executive, and part of the

that power within the Churches ; this did not yet undeniably prove, that some one or more of those Bishops, being removed out of their Churches, either by just censure, or voluntary separation, might not still exercise their ministry with as good effect as before ; and so by their means remission of sins might be had as well *without* as *within*. To obviate such exceptions, and to make his argument every way perfect, he adds this clause, *that the power was given to the Churches*, i. e. so peculiarly to *them*, and *them* only, that no persons could validly use or exercise that power, if once they were gone out of them ; neither could any derive any benefit from it, but by the instrumentality of such as were in them. That this construction of the whole period agrees with the meaning and language of *Firmilian* on a similar occasion, will appear by repeating a quotation from him, which we have met with <sup>8</sup> before. <sup>9</sup> *All power and grace* (says *Firmilian*) *is constituted in the Church, where ELDERS PRESIDE, who possess the power of baptizing, laying on of hands, and ordaining.* Here *all power* is said at large to be in the Church, (an expression every way equivalent to that in the passage before us,) and then it is immediately added, that *Elders preside there who possess the power of baptizing, laying on of hands, and ordaining.* No doubt if *Firmilian's* argument had required it, he had gone on and proved that possession of power to have been in the same Elders in respect of any other act of government or discipline besides ; for the reason had been the same, and the limitation of *all power* in that manner imports no less. That the presiding Elders, mentioned by *Firmilian*, were true and proper

<sup>8</sup> See Enq. ch. 4. §. 3. Obs. 9.

<sup>9</sup> *Omnis potestas et gratia in Ecclesid constituta sit, ubi præsident majores natu, qui et baptizandi et manum imponendi et ordinandi possident potestatem.* Ep. 75. ut supra.

Legislative Power ; and the People had a part in the Legislative, tho' not in the Executive. As for the Executive Power, by which I understand the formal Pronunciation of Suspensions and Excommunications, the Imposition of Hands in the Absolution of Penitents, and such like ; that could be done by none, but by the Bishop, or by Persons in Holy Orders Deputed and Commission'd by him, as the Sequel will evince. But as for the Legislative, Decretive, or Judicatorial Power, that appertained both to Clergy and Laity, who conjunctly made up that Supreme Consistorial Court, which was in every Parish, before which all Offenders were tried ; and, if found Guilty, Sentenced and Condemned.

Now that the Clergy were Members of this Ecclesiastical Court, is a thing so evidently known and granted by all, as that it would be superfluous to heap up many Quotations to prove it, so that I shall but just confirm it, after I have proved that which may seem more strange ; and that is, That the Laity were Members thereof, and Judges therein, being Sharers with the Clergy in the Judicial Power of the Spiritual Court : And this will most evidently appear by the consideration of these following Testimonies : The first shall be out of that place of <sup>2</sup> Εἰ δι' ἐμὲ στάσις καὶ ἔρις καὶ <sup>3</sup> Clemens Romanus, where he σχίσματα, ἐγχωρῶν ἀπειμι ὡν ἐὰν writes, <sup>2</sup> Who will say accord-

Bishops, has been largely proved before ; here it is only necessary to remark, *first*, that though all power is said in general terms to be in the Church, yet the *possession* of it, (and that is, I think, *the very power itself*,) was in particular hands only ; and *secondly*, that *these presiding Elders* were at least *Clerical Presbyters*, and consequently (in *Firmilian's* opinion) the lay brethren had no share of this power.

<sup>3</sup> The occasion of the words of this quotation plainly shows, that they are foreign to the application which our Enquirer here makes of them. It appears that in the Church of *Corinth* (which,

*ing to the Example of Moses, If Seditions, Contentions and Schisms are happen'd because of*

Βούλεσθε καὶ ποιῶ τὰ προστασσόμενα  
ἀπὸ τοῦ πλήθους. Epist. 1. ad  
Corinth. p. 69.

at that time, indulged a contentious spirit to a sad extent) <sup>1</sup> a few giddy and audacious men had stirred up the meeker sort against their betters; a crew of vile and ignorant persons (as the holy Father styles them) had got a head against the men of wisdom and reputation in the Church, and were for turning out the Presbyters, <sup>2</sup> who had been placed over them, and had faithfully discharged their ministry amongst them. The peaceful Clement affectionately bewails this:

with an Apostolic spirit, he exhorts the heads of those seditions to peace, humility, and charity; he adjures them to prefer the public interest before their own; and goes so far as to

<sup>3</sup> recommend the example of Moses, who consented that his name should be blotted out of the Book of God, rather than the people who had sinned so presumptuously against him, should be consumed by him. He advises the authors of that miserable

<sup>4</sup> faction to imitate, if possible, this superlative perfection, and wishes each of them, singly for himself, to make this declaration in the audience of all: <sup>5</sup> If this sedition, strife, schisms, be on my account, I withdraw, I go whither you will, and am ready to do whatsoever the [τὸ πλῆθος] multitude, the majority, the people, [render it as you please,]

<sup>1</sup> Ολίγα πρόσωπα προκετῆ καὶ ἀνθεῖδη—ἐπηγένησαν οἱ ἄτιμοι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐντίμους, οἱ ἄδοξοι ἐπὶ ἐνδίξους, οἱ ἄφρονες ἐπὶ τοὺς φρονίμους. Clem. Epist. ad Corinth. prima, p. 2. & p. 5. Edit. Oxon. 1633.

<sup>2</sup> Ενίοις ὑμεῖς μετηγάγετε καλῶς πολιτευμένους ἐκ τῆς ἀμεμπτῶς αὐτοῖς τετιμημένης λειτουργίας. Ibid. p. 58.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. p. 68, 69.

<sup>4</sup> Ανυπεξβλήτου τελειότητος. Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Εἰ δι' ἐμὸν στάσις, καὶ ἔξις, καὶ σχίσματα, ἐνχωρῶ, ἀπειμι, οὐ ἐαν βούλεσθε καὶ ποιῶ τὰ προστασσόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους μόνον τὸ ποιμνιον του Χριστου εἰσηνεύτω μετὰ των καθεσταμενων πρεσβυτέρων. Ibid.

*me, I will depart, I will go wheresover you please, and I will do what are enjoyned me by the People, so the Church of Christ be in Peace.*

<sup>b</sup> So *Origen* describes a Criminal as appearing *ἐπὶ πάσῃς*

<sup>3</sup> Comment in Matt. Tom. 13. *τὴν ἐκκλησίας*,<sup>3</sup> *Before the whole Church.* And *Dionysius* Bishop of *Alexandria* in his

*shall order to be done; so the flock of Christ may live in peace with the Presbyters who are set over them.* Now the *τὰ προστασόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους*, i. e. the conditions (however unreasonable) which this incensed multitude would insist upon in this case, before they would be quiet, our learned Author brings forward as an act or precept of a regular power invested in them; and he intimates that all who loved peace in that Church were obliged to do what they thus required to be done; for he quotes these words *alone*, as a proof of the people's authority in a consistorial capacity. Now supposing it were so, then in the example which St. *Clemens* proposes for their imitation, the consent of *Moses* to have his name blotted out of the Book of God, in order to save the wicked *Israelites* from the just punishment of their sin, must be taken for no more than an act of justice and duty in that holy prophet. Besides, the word [*πλήθος*], in this place, is an extraordinary term to express the laity of any Church by, in contradistinction to the Clergy of it, and much less the laity in Consistorial Council together, as the application of it here must apply. It is the very same word that *Clement* uses to designate the idolatrous rebels, in the case of *Moses*'s controversy with them; and may not unfairly be translated *a tumultuous crowd* or *rabble*, considering the circumstances which occasioned the use of it in this place, and is much more agreeable to the character which *Clemens* himself gives us of these factious *Corinthians*.

<sup>b</sup> To tell us that *Origen* describes a criminal as appearing *before the whole Church or Congregation*, and that *Dionysius* of *Alexandria* should say the like of *Serapion*, and that *no one ever took any notice of him*, is such a singular way of proving, that all

letter to *Fabius* Bishop of *Antioch*, speaks of one *Serapion*, that had fallen in the Times of Persecution, who had several times appeared before the Church, to beg their Pardon, but <sup>4</sup> no one did <sup>4</sup> Οὐδεὶς περοσεῖχεν ἀντῆ. *Euseb.* lib. 6. c. 44. p. 246.

But *Cyprian* is most full in this matter, as when two Sub-deacons, and an Acolyth of his Parish, had committed some great Misdemeanors, he professes that he himself was not a sufficient Judge of their Crimes, but <sup>4</sup> they ought to be tried by all the People. And concerning *Felicissimus* the Schismatick, he writes to his People from God, he would come to them after *Easter*, and then that <sup>5</sup> Affair should be adjusted according to their Arbitrement and Common Counsel. And in another place he condemns

<sup>4</sup> Hæc singulorum tractanda sit, et limanda plenius ratio—cum plebe ipsa universa. *Epist.* 28. §. 2. p. 64.

his Exile, that, if it pleased  
<sup>5</sup> Secundum arbitrium quoque  
 vestrum et omnium nostrum  
 Commune Consilium—ea quæ  
 agenda sunt disponere pariter,  
 et limare poterimus. *Epist.* 40.  
 §. 1. p. 94.

persons present sat with a *judicial authority* in the Church, as would make every individual person a *magistrate*, who, in any capacity, should be a proper member of either sacred or civil assemblies.

Our Enquirer affirms St. *Cyprian* to be more full in this matter, (i. e. *the judicial power of the laity in the spiritual court*,) than any he has named before. Now who can help observing here, what a paradox it is to bring St. *Cyprian's* authority for a *popular jurisdiction* in the Church, when our Author had just before admitted, that *Cyprian* was of *Origen's* opinion about *the power of the keys?* both of them agreeing that *primitive Bishops appropriated the grant of them to themselves, and were very orthodox in doing so.* Whence it must follow, that no personal condescensions in St. *Cyprian's* practice (upon which the Enquirer's arguments all along proceed) can amount to any proof in the matter before us, unless we make the actions of the self-consistent Martyr to be at variance with his belief.

the rash Precipitation of some of his Presbyters in admitting the Lapsed to Communion, because of some Pacificatory Libels obtained from the Confessors, and charges them to admit no more till Peace was restored

<sup>6</sup> Acturi et apud nos, et apud plebem universam causam suam.

*Epist. 10. §. 4. p. 30.*

to the Church, and then they should <sup>6</sup> *plead their Cause before the Clergy, and before all the People.*

And he writes in another Letter to the People of his Parish,

<sup>7</sup> *That when it should please God to restore Peace to the Church, and reduce him from his Exile, that then it should be examined in their Presence, and according to their Judgment.*

concerning the same matter,

<sup>7</sup> Cum pace nobis omnibus à Domino prius data, ad Ecclesiam regredi cæperimus, tunc examinabuntur singula præsentibus ac judicantibus vobis. *Epist. 12. ad Plebem, §. 1. p. 37.*

So that the Consistory Court was composed of the People, as well as of the Bishop, each of whom had a negative Voice therein. On one side, the Bishop could do nothing without the People. <sup>4</sup> So when several returned

<sup>4</sup> We are told of the great difficulties which St. *Cyprian* had to obtain his people's consent to the absolution of some penitent schismatics. It is true he had an affectionate conflict with them in the case; but for what? Was it to gain their *authoritative vote as fellow-judges*, without whose concurrence he could not act? Three or four particulars in St. *Cyprian's* account of the matter sufficiently show the contrary. 1st. He calls it their *patience* in the case, an extraordinary word indeed to express an *authoritative suffrage* by. 2ndly. In the foregoing paragraph, St. *Cyprian* tells *Cornelius*, that <sup>6</sup> *the people were so much against the restoring of some of the more profligate schismatics*, that for fear of *scandal and endangering others*

<sup>6</sup> Nobis sollicite examinantibus qui recipi et admitti ad Ecclesiam debent; quibusdam enim ita crimina sua obsistunt, aut fratres obstinatè et firmiter renituntur, ut recipi omnino non

from the Schism of *Fortunatus*, and Bishop *Cyprian* was willing to receive them into the Churches Peace, he complains of the unwillingness of his People to admit them, and the great difficulties he had to obtain their Consent, as he thus describes it in his Letter to *Cornelius* Bishop of

*by it, he was put to it to know who should, or should not, be admitted into the Church; and he further adds, <sup>1</sup> he would be no*

*profitable or well advised pastor, who should so mingle the infected sheep with the flock, as to grieve the whole flock with a resentment of so much evil amongst them.* Whence it is plain, not only

that a point of scandal was the great subject of controversy between St. *Cyprian* and his people; but also that it was a single pastor's act and deed which might occasion or prevent their scandal: and consequently that the single pastor had the power of receiving such exceptionable schismatics into the communion of the Church, or of excluding them from it. 3rdly. St. *Cyprian* farther tells *Cornelius*, in the same paragraph wherein this quotation occurs, that <sup>8</sup> *he had actually absolved one and another of those schismatics through his own tenderness to them, though the people stiffly withheld and contradicted him in it*: which shews sufficiently what he knew he might have done to all the rest.

Weigh these few circumstances together, and then judge whether it were an *authoritative consent* which St. *Cyprian* wanted of his people. The whole case suits indeed with his fixed determination to show tenderness and condescension to the people of his diocese, but does not in the least impair the fulness of his power.

possunt, [nisi] cum scandalo et periculo multorum. *Cyp. Ep.* 55. § 16. *Edit. Pamel.* vel *Ep.* 59. *Edit. Oxon.*

<sup>1</sup> Nec utilis aut consultus est pastor qui ita morbidas et contactas oves gregi admiscet, ut gregem totum mali cohærentis afflictione contaminaret. *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> Unus atque alius, *obnitente* plebe et *contradicente*, mei tamen facilitate suscepti. *Cypr. Ep.* 55. §. 16. *Edit. Pamel.* vel *Ep.* 59. *Edit. Oxon.*

<sup>8</sup> O si posses, Frater charissime, istic interesse nobiscum, cum pravi isti et perversi de Schismate revertuntur, videres quis mihi labor sit persuadere patientiam Fratribus nostris, ut animi dolore sopito recipiendis malis curandisque consentiant; vix plebi persuadeo, imo extorqueo, ut tales patientur admitti.

*Epist. 55. §. 17. p. 143.*

*Rome, <sup>8</sup> O my dear Brother, if you could be present with me, when those Men return from their Schism, you would wonder at what pains I take to perswade our Brethren to be patient that laying aside their Grief of Mind, they would consent to the healing and receiving of those that are sick; I can scarce perswade, yea, I extort a Grant from my People, that such be received to Communion.*

And on the other side, the People could do nothing without the Bishop; as when one of the three Bishops that Schismatically Ordained *Novatian*, came back to the Church and desired admission, the People alone could not receive him, without the consent of the Bishop *Cornelius*; for else

<sup>9</sup> Ὅπερ ἀντοῦ δεηδέντος παντὸς τοῦ παρέντος λαοῦ. Cornel. apud Euseb. lib. 6. c. 43. p. 244.

they would not have <sup>9</sup> so earnestly press'd him for his permission, as we find they did.

Thus then we have viewed the Members of the Spiritual Court, and have proved that they were all the Members, or the whole Body of the Church, Clergy as well as Laity, and Laity as well as Clergy; not one without the other, but both together.

But now forasmuch as the People were encumbered with earthly business, and it was not possible that they could constantly give their attendance, and narrowly search into every thing that should be brought before them: Therefore we may suppose, that the Members of the Presbytery, who, as was said before, under the Head of Ordination, were to be free from all Worldly Cares and Employments, were appointed as a Committee to prepare matters for the

whole Court. An instance whereof we meet with in *Maximus, Urbanus, Sidonius*, and some others, that had joined in the Schism of *Novatian*, who being sensible of their Fault, <sup>1</sup> *Came into the Presbytery, and desir'd the Churches Peace; the Presbytery accepted of their Submission and proposed it to the whole Church, who readily embraced it.*

We are told again, that the Clerical Presbytery (as being more at leisure than the people,) prepared matters for the court, wherein the *Clergy* and *Laity together* were to pass sentence at the last. The proof is as follows: some eminent schismatics of *Novatian's* party begged to be re-admitted into communion with *Cornelius*, <sup>9</sup> who having been personally applied to before, and thoroughly instructed in the case, *was pleased* to call his Presbyters together to consult about the matter. When he, and they, and five Bishops with them, had absolutely agreed that those penitent schismatics should be re-admitted to communion; then says <sup>1</sup> *Cornelius, what followed was, that all which had been done, should be notified to the people; and why was it to be notified to them? Cornelius adds the reason; that they might see those very persons established in the Church again, whom they had a long time seen as forlorn vagabonds and had lamented their condition.* Now, I ask, is it likely, that this matter should not have been thoroughly agreed on before? or that *Cornelius* would have spoken thus of the *people*, if he had needed their

<sup>1</sup> *In Presbyterium venerunt—Quod erat consequens, omnis hic actus populo fuerit insinuandus. Cyprian. Epist. 46. §. 2, 3. p. 104, 105.*

<sup>9</sup> *Omni actu ad me perlato placuit contrahi Presbyterium; adfuerunt etiam quinque Episcopi.*

<sup>1</sup> *Quod erat consequens, omnis hic actus populo fuerat insinuandus, [so far the Enquiry quotes, and leaves out this] ut et ipsos viderent in Ecclesia constitutos, quos errantes et palubundos jam diu viderant et dolebant. Apud Cyp. Ep. 49. Edit. Oxon.*

So that the Presbytery prepared matters for the whole Court, which Court was the Supreme Tribunal within the Limits of that Parish, before whom all Matters that there occurred, were tried, and by whom all were judged ; only when any great and difficult points were decided, 'tis probable it was the Custom to desire the Bishops of the neighbouring Parishes to come over, and assist there in presence, that so their Censures might be the freer from

<sup>2</sup> Adfuerunt Episcopi quinque —ut firmato consilio, quid circa personam eorum observari debet consensu omnium statueretur. *Cornel. ad Cyprian. Epist. 46. §. 2. p. 104.*

any imputation of Partiality or Injustice. Thus when a nice Affair was to be determined at *Rome*, *Cornelius* <sup>2</sup> desired five Bishops to assist, that so what they did, might be firm and indisputable.

§. 4. <sup>f</sup> Having thus found out the Members of the Ecclesiastical Tribunal, the next thing to be consider'd, is

*authoritative consent* to receive the criminals into his Church ? We are told that when a great concourse of the people had appeared on receiving intelligence of this matter, an universal joy and praise to God ensued, with tears and mutual embracing of the brethren. This, in the close of the relation, St. *Cyprian* calls an [*ingens populi suffragium* :] that is, *their joyful approbation of the restitution of their brethren* ; and exclusively of any act of the people at all, <sup>2</sup> he says, in the same breath, *we commanded Maximus the Presbyter to take his place again.*

<sup>2</sup> Maximum Presbyterum locum suum agnoscere jussimus ; cæteros cum ingenti populi suffragio recepimus. *Ibid.*

<sup>f</sup> When our learned Author had thus settled (*as we have seen*) an equal share of *legislative*, *decretive*, or *judicatorial* power in the laity of the Church ; the next thing was to show the *manner* of their exercising this power in the solemn acts of public discipline. To this purpose he sets before us the ordinary form of an *Ecclesiastical consistory* in the primitive Church : wherein, had he

the manner and Form of their Proceedings in the Exercise of their Judicial Power and Authority, which by *Tertullian* is described to be after this manner ; When at their general Assemblies the other parts of Divine Worship were ended, <sup>3</sup> then followed *Exhortations, Reproofs, and a Divine Censure* ; for the Judgment is given with great weight, as amongst those that are sure, that God beholds what they do ; and this is one of the highest Preludiums and Fore-runners of the Judgment to come, when the Delinquent is banished from the Communion of Prayers, Assemblies, and all Holy Commerce. Approved

Elders preside there, who obtained that Honour by Testimony, not by Price. So that when the Consistory was sat, the Bishop and his assisting Presbyters, here called Approved Elders ; but commonly the Presbytery presided and moderated all things there proposed and debated. Then the Offenders, if possible, were actually brought before them, (tho' the non-appearance of the Criminals was no impediment to their Proceedings) for notwithstanding they condemned them, and censured them not only for those Crimes, for which they were cited to appear, but also

assigned to the several members of it their respective offices and powers, as fairly as he has represented the thing itself, we should have found a general scheme of admirable discipline, for preventing any long infection of vice or heresy in the Church of God. But one wonders to see what forced constructions he has made of a few plain passages in St. *Cyprian's* writings, in order to secure to the laity of the Churches their pretended share in the administration of that discipline.



<sup>3</sup> Ibidem etiam exhortationes, castigationes, et censura divina ; nam et judicatur magno cum pondere, ut apud certos de Dei conspectu, summumque futuri judicii præjudicium est, si quis ita deliquerit, ut à communicatione orationis, et conventus, et omnis sancti commercii relegateatur. Præsident probati quique Seniores, honorem istum non precio sed testimonio adepti. *Apolog. cap. 39.* p. 709.

for their Contumacy and Stubbornness, as *Cyprian* writes,

<sup>4</sup> Spirituali gladio superbi et contumaces necantur, dum de Ecclesiâ ejiciuntur. *Epist.* 62. §. 3. p. 170.

<sup>5</sup> Contumaces et Deum non timentes, et ab Ecclesiâ in totum recedentes, nemo comitetur. *Epist.* 64. §. 4. p. 191.

ed, that so their Crimes might be objected to them, to which they were to plead, as *Cyprian* says, that the Lapsed

<sup>6</sup> Acturi et apud nos, et apud Plebem universam causam suam, *Epist.* 10. §. 4. p. 30.

<sup>7</sup> In commune tractabimus. *Epist.* 6. §. 5. p. 17.

them. And if the Bishop and Majority of the Court judged their Defence insufficient, they were voted by their common Suffrage to be condemned and censured, <sup>8</sup> as *Cyprian*

<sup>8</sup> Censure and absolution of criminals, are, without doubt, the two principal acts of Ecclesiastical discipline; and in order to prove, that *censures* were passed by the votes and suffrages of the *people*, as well as of any of the *Clergy*, in the Church, our Author tells us, that St. *Cyprian* writes thus: *whoever was excommunicated, it was by the divine suffrages of the people*. The original words occur in an epistle, which that excellent Father wrote to his people against the schismatical Presbyters who had sided with *Felicissimus*;

<sup>9</sup> De Dei Providentiâ, nobis nec volentibus, nec optantibus, imo - *the punishment which they deserved; for without my knowledge, says he, and beyond what*

<sup>4</sup> *the Proud and obstinate are killed with the Spiritual Sword, whilst they are cast out of the Church; and* <sup>5</sup> *those that are stubborn and fear not God, but go off from the Church, let no man accompany.* But yet, I say, if possible, the Offenders personally appear-

<sup>6</sup> *were to plead their Cause before the Clergy and the whole Church.* Then the Court consider'd the Defendant's Plea, as *Cyprian* writes, <sup>7</sup> *that all things were debated in common amongst*

<sup>8</sup> *them.* And if the Bishop and Majority of the Court judged their Defence insufficient, they were voted by their common Suffrage to be condemned and censured, <sup>9</sup> as *Cyprian*

<sup>9</sup> *by God's Providence they had met with the punishment which they deserved; for without my knowledge, says he, and beyond what*

writes, that <sup>8</sup> *whoever was excommunicated, it was by the Divine Suffrages of the People.* The Delinquent being

<sup>8</sup> *Secundum vestra divina suffragia conjurati. Epist. 40. ad Plebem. §. 1. p. 92.*

thus cast, or found Guilty, the next thing that succeeded, was the formal Declaration of the Sentence of the Court, which was pronounced, as *Tertullian* intimates in that fore-quoted Passage, by one of the presiding Elders, that is, either by the Bishop or a Presbyter commissioned by him, the manner of which Pronunciation seems also from that Passage to be thus: He that passed the formal Sentence on the Criminal, first began with *Exhortations*; that is, as we may reasonably suppose, he exhorted the Faithful

*I wished, and even whilst I said nothing, and excused their fault, those confederate and wicked wretches, not cast out by us, have of their own accord turned out themselves; convicted in their own consciences, they pronounced their own sentence,*

*according to your divine suffrages.* Now what can be plainer here than this; that neither St. *Cyprian*, nor his Clergy, nor his people, had any hand in this extraordinary excommunication? It was the schismatics' own act and deed, by a voluntary separation, and nothing else. But what mean those words, *according to your divine suffrages?* They mean, (as I said before,) what the word *suffrage* almost always means, in St. *Cyprian's* language, namely, that those self-condemning schismatics had done *what the people very well approved of.* What sort of translation our learned Author has given us of this passage, what a groundless application he has made of it, and how unintelligibly it is pointed, the reader may see by comparing the Enquirer's small clause of it, with the entire transcript of the whole period, which I have given in the margin.

runt, ut a nobis non ejecti *ultra se ejicerent*, ipsi in se pro conscientia sua sententiam darent, secundum vestra divina suffragia, conjurati et scelerati de Ecclesiâ sponte se pellerent. *Cypr. Ibid.*

to use all diligent Care and Fear to avoid those Sins and Crimes, which had brought the Offenders before them to so lamentable and fatal Condition. Then followed Reproofs, which were sharp Rebukes and Reprehensions to the Delinquents for their foul Miscarriages and enormous Practices, setting forth the Evil, Villany and Misery of them ; That they were provoking to God, grievous to the Faithful, scandalous to Religion, and in fine, ruining and pernicious to themselves, in that it rendred them obnoxious to that *Divine Censure*, which then immediately, as the Conclusion of all, he formerly pronounced on them. Which brings me to the Consideration of the Fourth Query, *viz.* What the Primitive Censures were ; of which, in the following Section.

§. 5. Now in answer hereunto ; as the Church, so her Arms were Spiritual ; her Thunderbolts consisted in Suspensions and Excommunications, in ejecting and throwing out of the Church her scandalous and rotten Members, not permitting a re-induction of them, till by visible signs of Repentance they had satisfied for their Crimes and Villanies.

Various are the Appellations that are given to the Sentence of Excommunication in the Writings of the Ancients. By *Dionysius Alexandrinus* it is called,

<sup>9</sup> Ἀπελάσας τῆς ἐκκλησίας. Apud Euseb. l. 7. c. 7. p. 253.

<sup>1</sup> Ab Ecclesiae Communicatione abjectus. *De Præscript. advers. Hæret.* p. 95.

<sup>2</sup> A Communicatione depellere. *De Monogam.* p. 477.

<sup>3</sup> Ab Ecclesia separari, *Epist.* 38. §. 2. p. 90.

<sup>4</sup> De Ecclesia se pellerent. *Ep.* 40. §. 1. p. 92.

<sup>5</sup> Spirituali gladio necantur. *Epist.* 62. §. 3. p. 170.

<sup>9</sup> *A driving away from the Church.* By *Tertullian*,

<sup>1</sup> *A casting out from the Churches Communion*, and <sup>2</sup> *a driving from Communion*. By *Cyprian*, <sup>3</sup> *A Separation from the Church*, <sup>4</sup> *An Ejection out of the Church*, <sup>5</sup> *A killing with the Spiritual Sword*, and many other such like Terms occur in the Fathers,

all tending to describe the Fearfulness and Misery of an Excommunicated State: So tremendous was it, that whosoever was in that condition, was look'd upon as accursed by God, and really was so by Men, who esteemed him as a Limb of Satan, and a Member of the Devil, shunning his Company as they did the Plague, or any other infectious Disease. <sup>6</sup> Those, says *Cyprian, that are Proud, and fear not God, but go off from the Church, let no man accompany.* And therefore *Iræneus* speaking concerning the *Heretics*, who were all Excommunicated, says,<sup>7</sup> that according to the Command of Paul, we must avoid them; and John forbids us so much as to wish them God speed, since by so doing we communicate with their Evil Works. And *Tertullian* in that fore-mentioned place writes,<sup>8</sup> That the Delinquent was banished from the Communion of Prayers, Assemblies, and all holy Converse; being looked upon as one unworthy of humane Society, cast out of the Church of God here; and if impenitently dying in that condition, as certainly excluded the Kingdom of God hereafter. For as *Origen* writes on *Matth. 18. 18.* on which Text Excommunication is founded, <sup>9</sup> He that is condemned and bound by the Church on Earth, remains bound, none in Heaven unloosing him.

<sup>6</sup> Contumaces et Deum non timentes, et ab Ecclesia in totum recedentes, nemo comitetur. *Epist. 65. §. 4. p. 191.*

<sup>7</sup> Quos Paulus jubet nobis devitare, Joannes enim non Ave nobis eis dici volens. Qui enim dicit, inquit, eis Ave, communicat operibus eorum nequissimis. *Lib. 1. cap. 13. p. 63.*

<sup>8</sup> A communicatione orationis et conventus, et omnis sancti commercii relegetur. *Apol. c. 39. p. 709.*

<sup>9</sup> Ο τοιούτος δεδεμένος ἀπὸ τοῦ τοιουδὲ μένει δεδεμένος, οὐδενὸς τῶν ἐν οὐρανῷ ἀναλίσοντος τοῦ δεδηκοτος ἀντὴν τὴν ψῆφον. Comment. in *Matth. Tom. 13. p. 336. Vol. 1.*

§. 6. No wonder then that Men in their right Senses

were affrightned at the tremendous Misery of an Excommunicated Condition, and that when through their corrupt Natures and wicked Practices they had incurred that Sentence, they never left Fasting, Watching, Weeping, and the endurance of the severest Courses of Mortification, till they were absolved from it, and re-instated in God and the Churches Favour. Which brings me in the next place to search into the Course that Offenders took to be received into the Church again, the usual Method whereof seems to have been thus :

All those that desired to be delivered from that miserable state, in the first place in a most penitent and humble manner came weeping and crying unto the Church-doors, where they lay groveling on the Ground, prostrating themselves at the Feet of the Faithful as they went into Church, and begging their Prayers to God for them. The Behaviour of these Men is thus elegantly express'd by the Clergy of the Church of *Rome* in a letter to *Cyprian*,

<sup>1</sup> Pulsent sane fores, sed non utique confringant; adeant ad limen Ecclesiæ, sed non utique transiliant. Castrorum cœlestium excubent portis, sed armati modestia, qua intelligent se desertores fuisse. Resumant precum suarum tubam, sed qua non bellicum clangant. Arment se quidem modestiæ, telis, et quem negando mortis metu fidei demiserant, clypeum resumant, sed ut contra hostem Diabolum vel nunc armati non contra Ecclesiam, quæ illorum dolet casus, armatos se esse credant. Multum illis proficiet

*<sup>1</sup> Let them, say they, knock at the Church-doors, but not break them; let them come to the Threshold of the Church, but not pass over it; let them watch at the Gates of the Celestial Tents, but armed with Modesty, by which they may remember they were Deserters; let them resume the Trumpet of their Prayers, but not to sound an Alarm to Battle; let them arm themselves with the Darts of Modesty, and retake that Shield which by their Apostacy they lost, that so they may be armed,*

*not against the Church, which grieves at their Misery, but against their Adversary the Devil; a modest Petition, a bashful Supplication, a necessary Humility, and an industrious Patience will be advantageous to them; let them express their grief by their Tears, and their sorrow and shame for their Crimes by their Groans.* So Tertullian in the same manner describes one in this state, <sup>o</sup> by lying in Sackcloth and Ashes, by having a squalid Body, and a dejected Soul, by fasting, praying, weeping, groaning, and roaring night and day; by throwing himself at the Clergies feet, and kneeling before the Faithful, begging and desiring their Prayers and Pardon.

§ 7. If the Ecclesiastical Court thought their Repentance to be real, and those external Expressions of Sorrow and Grief to proceed from suitable Affections of Heart, then they began to encline to some Terms of Remission and Reconciliation, and gave the Delinquents some hopes of it, by admitting them to come into the Church, and to stay at some part of Divine Service, but not at the whole of it, to Communicate with the Faithful, till they had for a long space of time, which they then imposed on them, by their humble and modest Carriage gave good Proofs of their Sorrow and Repentance.

This fixed Time of Tryal was called, the Time of Penance, during which the Penitent, as he was now called, appeared

petitio modesta, postulatio ve-  
recunda, humilitas necessaria,  
patientia non otiosa; mittant  
legatos pro suis doloribus lacry-  
mas; advocatione fungantur  
ex intimo pectore prolati gemi-  
tus, dolorem probantes commis-  
si criminis et pudorem. *Epist.*  
31. *apud Cyprian.* §. 7. p. 71.

<sup>o</sup> *Sacco et cineri incubare, cor-  
pus sordibus obscurare, animum  
mæroribus dejicere,—Jejuniis  
preces alere, ingemiscere,  
lachrymari, et mugire dies  
noctesque—Presbyteris advolvi,  
et caris Dei adgeniculari, om-  
nibus fratribus legationes de-  
precationis suæ injungere. De  
Pænitentia, p. 381.*

in all the Formalities of Sorrow, with a coarse Habit, and a dejected Countenance, continually fasting and praying, lamenting and bemoaning the greatness and aggravations of his Sin and Wickedness, as may be seen in sundry places of the Fathers, all which to transcribe would be very tedious; wherefore I shall content my self with Translating a few elegancies pertinent to this purpose, out of *Cyprian's* Book *De Lapsis*, wherein he thus inveighs against those, who in a state of Penance indulged themselves in the De-

lights and Enjoyments of the Flesh, <sup>3</sup> *Can we think that that Man weeps with his whole Heart, and with Fastings, Tears, and Sighs beseeches God, who from the very first day of his Offence daily frequents the Baths, who indulging to his glutinous Appetite this Day, vomits up his undigested Crudities the next day, and does not communicate of his Meat and Drink to the Necessities of the Poor? He that goes gay and jocund, how doth he bewail his Death? Does that Woman weep and mourn, who spends her time in putting on splendid Garments, and does not think upon the Garment of Christ, which she lost? Who seeks after precious Ornaments and rich Jewels, and does not bewail the loss of the Heavenly and Divine adorn-*

<sup>3</sup> *Lamentari eum putamus ex toto corde jejunii, fletibus, planctibus Dominum deprecari; qui ex primo criminis die lavacra quotidie celebrat, qui epulis affluentibus pastus, et sagina largiore distentus, cruditates suas postridie ructat, nec cibos et potus suos cum pauperum necessitate communicat? Qui hilaris ac laetus incedit, quomodo mortem suam deflet? An illa ingemiscit et plangit, cui vacat cultum pretiosæ vestis induere, nec indumentum Christi, quod perdidit, cogitare? Accipere pretiosa ornamenta et monilia elaborata, nec Divini et Cœlestis ornatus damna deflere; tu licet indumenta peregrina et vestes sericas induas, nuda es; auro te licet et margaritis gemmisque condecores, sine Christi decore deformis es. Et quæ capillos tuos inficis, vel nunc in doloribus desine, et quæ nigri pulveris ductu oculorum liniamenta*

*ing? Altho' thou puttest on exotick Garbs and silken Garments, thou art naked; altho' thou beautiftest thy self with Gold and Pearls, without the Beauty of Christ thou art deformed: And thou who dyest thine Hair, now leave it off in this time of Penance; and thou who paintest thine Eyes, wash it off with thy Tears.*

*If thou shouldest lose any one of thy dear Friends by Death, thou wouldst sorrowfully weep and howl, and express the greatness of thy Sorrow by thy disregarded Face, mourning Garments, neglected Hair, cloudy Countenance, and dejected Visage. Why, O Wretch, thou hast lost thy Soul, and wilt not thou bitterly weep, and continually lament?*

*Now therefore pray and supplicate more earnestly, pass the Day in weeping, the Night in watching and crying, both Night and Day in Tears and Lamentations, prostrate yourselves upon the Ground, roll your selves in dust and ashes; after having lost the Garment of Christ, have no cloathing here; having tasted the Devil's Meat, chuse now to fast.*

§. 8. How long these Penitentiary Stations were, cannot be defined, since they differed according to the Quality of the Offence and the Offender, according to the Circumstance of Time, and the Will and Pleasure of the Ecclesiastical Court who imposed them; some were in the state of Penance two Years, some three, some five, some ten,

depingis, vel nunc lacrymis oculos tuos ablue. Si quem de tuis charis mortali exitu perdisse, ingemisceres dolenter, et fleres: Facie inulta, veste mutata, neglecto capillo, vultu nobilo, ore dejecto indicia mæroris ostenderes, animam tuam misera perdidisti—Et non acriter plangis, non jugiter ingemiscis? §. 24, 25. p. 285.

<sup>4</sup> Orare oportet impensius et rogare, diem luctu transigere, vigiliis noctes ac fletibus duce re tempus omne lachrymosis lamentationibus occupare, stratos solo adhærere cineri, in cilicio et sordibus voluntari: post indumentum Christi perditum, nullum hic jam velle vestitum: post Diaboli cibum malle jejunium. §. 28. p. 286.

some more, some even to their Lives ends ; but how long and rigorous soever their Penance was, they were patiently,

humbly, and thankfully to endure it the whole time, being not absolved, till they had undergone : *the legal and full time of Satisfaction.*

It is true indeed, that in some extraordinary Cases the Prudence of the Church saw fit to dispense with the usual

<sup>5</sup> Legitimum et plenum tempus satisfactionis. *Cypr. Epist.* 59. §. 1. p. 164.

length and Severity of their inflicted Discipline, as in

<sup>6</sup> Urgere exitus coeperit. *Apud Cyprian. Epist.* 13. §. 1. p. 39.

<sup>6</sup> *Case of Death, 7 of an approaching Persecution, or,*

<sup>7</sup> Lapsis pacem dandam esse, et eos ad prælium, quod imminet, armari et instrui oportere. *Apud Cyprian. Epist.* 54. §. 1. p. 132.

*when a great multitude, and eminent leading Persons were concerned in the same Offence ; as in the case of*

*Trophimus*, which may be seen in the 52d Epistle of *Cyprian*. Besides these, the Confessors claimed the Priviledge of restoring Penitents before the usual time ; which irregular and unreasonable Practice of theirs caused great Disturbances to the Church of *Carthage* in the Days of *Cyprian*, which may be seen at large in several Epistles extant in the beginning of his Works.

But laying aside these unusual Circumstances, the fixed Period of Penance was never anticipated ; but how long and severe soever it was, the Penitent chearfully submitted to it.

<sup>h</sup> When the appointed Time of Penance was ended, the Penitent applyed himself to the Ecclesiastical Court for

<sup>h</sup> To prove that, in the primitive Church, the *people* could *loose*, as well as *bind*, our Enquirer assures us, that the penitents applied themselves to this Ecclesiastical Court of his for their *absolution*. He finds that St. *Cyprian* tells us, among other things, that before a penitent offender could be absolved, *his*

Absolution, who <sup>8</sup> examined <sup>8</sup> Inspecta vita ejus qui agit his *Demeanours and Actions*, pœnitentiam, *Cypr. Epist.* 12. which if they approved and §. 1. p. 37.

*actions and demeanour were to be looked into*; and therefore it is concluded that this penitent must needs have gone to beg his absolution *of the Consistory*. If that clause, or any context in the place where it occurs, warrants such a conclusion, I must own it is a way of reasoning which I cannot comprehend. Our Enquirer positively asserts, that the joint assembly of the Laity and Clergy in the Church had the proper right of <sup>4</sup> judging the sufficiency or insufficiency of a censured person's repentance; the right of <sup>5</sup> admitting him by degrees into part, or a full communion with the Church; the right of <sup>6</sup> continuing offenders for a longer or shorter time in the *penitentiary station*; and lastly, a full right or power <sup>7</sup> to *assoil* or *absolve* them; insomuch that the imposition of the Bishop's and Clergy's hands upon them was merely a *declarative act*, <sup>8</sup> and no more than a barren *form* of admitting them to the Church's peace. Now, not to trouble the reader with a repetition of what has been so largely proved before, concerning the use which St. *Cyprian* made both of his Clergy and people, in all causes within his own private Consistory, as well as in that eminent Council for the trial of the lapsed brethren, I shall show, once for all, how very different that holy Father's judgment was from that of our learned Enquirer, in relation to all the main points for which he is here cited: and 1st. The Enquiry <sup>9</sup> tells us, that *both Clergy and Laity were all of them Judges in the Ecclesiastical Court*, and that *the people as well as the Bishops had each of them a*

<sup>4</sup> Enquiry, ch. 7, §. 7.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Enq. ch. 7. §. 8.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Enq. ch. 7. §. 10.

<sup>9</sup> Enq. ch. 7. §. 3.

liked, they then proceeded to formal assoiling of him, of which in the following Sections.

<sup>1</sup> *Unus in Ecclesiâ ad tempus sacerdos, et ad tempus, judex vice Christi.* *Cyp. Ep. 59. §. 5. Edit. Oxon.*

2ndly. The Enquiry tells us, the *Consistory Court actually assoiled or absolved the penitent,*

<sup>2</sup> *Remissio facta per sacerdotes apud Dominum grata est.* *Cyp. de Lapsis, p. 134. Edit. Oxon.*

<sup>3</sup> *Enq. ch. 7. §. 10.*

*formal ceremony, declarative only*

<sup>4</sup> *Ante purgatam conscientiam sacrificio et manu sacerdotis, pacem putant esse.* *Cyp. de Lapsis, p. 128.*

<sup>5</sup> *Poenitenti, operanti, roganti, potest clementer ignoscere (Deus,) potest in acceptum referre quicquid pro talibus et petierint martyres, et fecerint sacerdotes.* *Cyp. de Lapsis, p. 138.*

<sup>6</sup> *Enq. c. 7. §. 7. & §. 8.*

*censured person's repentance, and according to their will and pleasure they were to continue a longer or shorter time in the penitentiary station;*

<sup>7</sup> *Præpositorum est, properantes*

*negative voice.* <sup>1</sup> *St. Cyprian as expressly says, there is but one judge in the Church at a time, as Christ's vicegerent there.*

<sup>2</sup> *St. Cyprian says, absolution was a remission of sins effected by means of the priests, and acceptable to God.*

<sup>3</sup> *rdly. The Enquiry* <sup>3</sup> *says, that imposition of hands by the Bishops and Clergy, was a mere formal ceremony, declarative only of an absolution passed by the Consistory.* <sup>4</sup> *St. Cyprian says, the hand (or instrumentality) of the priest conduced to the purging of the conscience; and describing the whole course of a censured person's recovery, he says, if such an one repents, does good works, and prays to God for it, God can pardon him, and what the Martyrs should request, and the priests should do for such persons might be accepted of him.*

<sup>4</sup> *thly. The Enquirer* <sup>6</sup> *tells us, that his Ecclesiastical Court was to judge of the reality of a censured person's repentance, and according to their will and pleasure they were to continue a longer or shorter time in the penitentiary station;* <sup>7</sup> *St. Cyprian says, it was the peculiar part or*

§. 9. On the appointed Day for Absolution, the Penitent, or he that was now to be absolved, came into the Church mourning and weeping, and expressing all external Indi-

*province of the Governours of the Church* (exclusive of the lay-brethren, no doubt) *to order ignorant or over-hasty penitents in that matter; for to grant them those things which would*

*turn to their destruction,* (i. e. for those Governours to permit them to be absolved before they were judged fit for it,) *would be plainly to deceive them, and they would be rather butchers than pastors of the sheep.* The office of ordering their absolution sooner or later, and the guilt of an over-hasty absolution, are here attributed to the Governours or Pastors of the Church alone. Accordingly, when the Martyrs were very anxious to have some lapsed brethren absolved, who were unqualified for it, St. *Cyprian* argues, <sup>8</sup> *they could not put the Bishops upon doing that which was against the command of God.* Why, put the *Bishops only* upon it? How is it that the whole Consistory is forgotten in such an important act of their power? Surely, if they had had a negative, and the thing had been done amiss, the guilt as well as the power would have been shared amongst them, and they would not have been overlooked. But,

5thly. St. *Cyprian* assures us, that his own Presbyters sent to him alone for his *authoritative order* upon a similar occasion; for so the *forma* (as he calls it) plainly implies. <sup>9</sup> *You desired a form* (says he) *of me, in relation to some lapsed brethren, who were very pressing with you to be speedily absolved; I wrote my mind very fully* (I think) *upon*

*vel ignorantes instruere, ne qui ovium pastores esse debent, lanii fiant; ea enim concedere, quæ in perniciem vertant, decipere est. Cyp. Ep. Edit. Oxon.*

<sup>8</sup> *Ut ab Episcopis contra mandatum Dei fiat, auctores esse non possunt.*

<sup>9</sup> *Significasti quosdam immoderatos esse, et communicacionem accipientam festinanter urgere; et desiderasti in hac re formam à me vobis dare. Satis plene scripsisse me ad*

cations of his Internal Sorrow: As when *Natalis*, a *Roman Confessor*, was absolved for his joyning with the *Theodotian Hereticks*, he came into the Church, as it is related by an

<sup>9</sup> Ἐνδυσάμενον σάκκον καὶ σπόδῳ  
καταπασάμενον, μετὰ πολλῆς σπου-  
δῆς καὶ δακρυῶν, προσπέσειν κλίνει  
καὶ τῶν λαχιῶν—πολλῷ τε τῇ δεή-  
σει χρησάμενον. *Apud Euseb.* l.  
5. c. 28. p. 197.

<sup>1</sup> Non minis sed precibus et  
lamentationibus. *Cypr. Epist.*  
55. §. 18. p. 143.

by Threats; by Prayers, and not by Curses.

Hence at this time for the greater Demonstration of their Sorrow and Humility, they were to make a publick Confession of their Sin, styled by them *Exomologesis*, which <sup>2</sup> Exomologes in gravissimi atque extremi delicti. *Epist.* 11. §. 1. p. 32.

was, as *Cyprian* saith, <sup>2</sup> A Confession of their great and heinous Crime, and was a necessary

hanc rem proximis literis ad vos  
factis credo, ut qui libellum ac-  
ceperunt, &c.—manu eis in  
pœnitentia a vobis imposita cum  
pace—ad Dominum remittantur.  
—*Cyp. Ep.* 19.

prescribes, and leaving others as they were, until public peace should be restored.

To multiply quotations on these heads from St. *Cyprian's* writings, were needless. What part he allowed the lay brethren of the Church in the Ecclesiastical Courts, I leave the reader to judge from the few I have here adduced; and only hope, that on whichsoever side truth lies, it may clear itself at last, and be impartially embraced by all the lovers of it.

that matter, in my last letters to  
you. He then proceeds to  
tell them the contents of  
those letters; which were  
a positive authority and order  
for them to act by, in absolving  
some on such conditions as he

Antecedent to Absolution, inasmuch as it was the Source and Spring of all true Repentance. For as *Tertullian* observes, <sup>3</sup> *Out of Confession is born Repentance, and by Confession comes Satisfaction.* And in many places of <sup>4</sup> *Cyprian* the necessity of Confession is asserted; for as *Tertullian* says, <sup>5</sup> *Confession as much diminishes the Fault, as Dissimulation aggravates it; Confession is the Advice of Satisfaction, Dissimulation of Contumacy.* And therefore he condemns those, who thro' shame deferred from Day to Day the Publication of

<sup>3</sup> *Satisfactio confessione disponitur, confessione pœnitentia noscitur. De Pœnitentia, p. 380.*

<sup>4</sup> *Epist. 10. §. 2. p. 30. Epist. 11. §. 1. p. 32.*

<sup>5</sup> *Tantum relevat confessio delictum, quantum dissimulatio exaggerat; confessio enim satisfactionis consilium est, dissimulatio contumaciæ. De Pœnitentia, p. 380.*

<sup>6</sup> *Pudoris magis memores quam Salutis velut illi qui in partibus verecundioribus corporis contractâ vexatione, conscientiam medentium vitant, et ita cum erubescentia sua pereunt. De Pœnitentia, p. 382.*

greatest Offenders were not exempted from it; as when *Philip* the Emperor, as *Eusebius* calls him, or rather *Philip* a Prefect of *Egypt*, would have joyned with the Faithful in the Churches Prayer, Bishop *Babylas* denied him admission, because of his enormous Crimes; nor would he receive him, till he had made <sup>7</sup> *a Publick Confession of his Faults.* And accordingly when one of those Bishops that Schismatically Ordained *Novatian*, returned as a

<sup>7</sup> *Εξομολογίσασθαι. Apud Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 34. p. 232.*

<sup>8</sup> Εξομολογούμενος τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἀμάρτημα. Cornel. apud Euseb. lib. 6. c. 43. p. 243.

in the singular Number, *his Sin*, τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἀμάρτημα, which intimates, that the Penitent's Confession was not only general, or for all his Sins in the gross; but it was particular, for that special Sin for which he was censured; consonant whereunto *Cyprian*, as before quoted, writes,

<sup>9</sup> Exomologes in gravissimi atque extremi delicti. *Epist. 11.* §. 1. p. 32.

Penitent, he came into the Church weeping, and <sup>8</sup> *Confessing his Sin*; where we may observe, that it is said that the Penitent <sup>9</sup> confessed his most great and heinous Sin; that is, that Sin for which he was so severely punished.

This Confession of the Penitents was made with all the outward Signs of Sorrow and Grief, which usually so affected the Faithful, as that they sympathized with them in mourning and weeping. Whence *Tertullian* exhorts the Penitent not through shame to conceal, but from a true Godly Disposition, to confess his Fault before the

<sup>1</sup> Ergo cum te ad fratrum genua protendis—æque illi cum super te lacrymas agunt. *De Penitentia*, p. 382.

<sup>2</sup> Cum lacrymis nostris vestras lacrymas jungite; cum nostro gemitu, vestros gemitus copulante. *De Lapsis*, §. 27. p. 285.

whole Church, and to weep and mourn for it, <sup>1</sup> *since they, being his Brethren, would also weep with, and over him*. And so from the same Consideration, *Cyprian* exhorted the Lapsed to this Penitent Confession, <sup>2</sup> *with our Tears, saith he, joyn your Tears; with our Groans couple your Groans*.

§. 10. As soon as Confession was over, then followed the formal Absolution, which was thus: The Person to be absolved, kneeled down before the Bishop and the Clergy,

who put their Hands upon his Head, and blessed him ; by which external Ceremony the Penitent was declaratively and formally admitted to the Churches Peace. Thus *Cyprian* writes, that they <sup>3</sup> received the Right of Communion by the Imposition of Hands of the Bishop and his Clergy. And that <sup>4</sup> no one can be admitted to Communion, unless the Bishop and Clergy have imposed Hands on him. This being accounted the third and last general Requisite for the reconciling of Offenders, the two former being the undergoing a state of Penance, and a publick Confession of their Sin ; all which three are frequently mentioned together as such by *Cyprian*, as where he <sup>5</sup> says, *Let Offenders do Penance a set space of time, and according to the Order of Discipline, let them come to Confession, and by Imposition of Hands of the Bishop and Clergy, let them receive the Right of Communion.* And in other places he complains of the irregular and unadvised Actions of some of his Presbyters, that they admitted some of the Lapsed to Communion, <sup>6</sup> before they had undergone a due Penance, made a Publick Confession of their Sin, and had Hands imposed on them by the Bishop and Clergy.

<sup>3</sup> Per impositionem manus Episcopi et Cleri jus communicacionis accipiunt. *Epist.* 10. §. 2. p. 30.

<sup>4</sup> Nec ad Communicationem venire quis possit, nisi prius illi et ab Episcopo et Clero manus fuit imposita. *Epist.* 12. §. 1. p. 37.

<sup>5</sup> Agant peccatores pœnitentiam justo tempore, et secundum disciplinæ ordinem ad exomologesin veniant, et per impositionem manus Episcopi et Cleri jus communicationis accipient. *Ep.* 10. §. 2. p. 30.

<sup>6</sup> Ante actam pœnitentiam, ante Exomologesin gravissimi atque extremi delicti factam, ante manum ab Episcopo et Clero in pœnitentiam impositam, offerre lapsis pacem, et Eucharistiam dare audeant. *Epist.* 11. §. 1. p. 32. and almost the same words are repeated, *Epist.* 12. §. 1. p. 37.

§. 11. After the Penitents were absolved by imposition of Hands, then they were received into the Communion of the Faithful, and made Partakers again of all those Priviledges, which by their Crimes they had for a while forfeited: Only when an offending Clergy-man was absolved, he only was restored to Communion as a Lay-man, but never re-admitted to his Ecclesiastical Dignity. Thus when one of the Schismatical Bishops, that Ordained *Novatian*, returned to the Church, he was deprived of his

<sup>7</sup> Ἐκοιωνήσαμεν ὡς λαϊκῶν. *Cornel.* apud *Euseb.* lib. 6. cap. 43. p. 243.

never restored again to their Office. The Reasons whereof may be seen in the 64th Epistle of *Cyprian*. And therefore

<sup>8</sup> Satis sibi gratulans, si sibi vel Laico communicare contingeret. *Apud Cyprian. Epist.* 68. §. 7. p. 202.

But yet I suppose that for not deprived of their Orders, but only according to the Greatness of their Crimes, and the Aggravation of them, since I find that *Maximus* a Presbyter of the Church of

<sup>9</sup> Maximum Presbyterum locum suum agnoscere jussimus. *Cornel. apud Cyprian. Epist.* 46. §. 4. p. 105.

Ecclesiastical Office, and admitted only to <sup>7</sup> *Lay-Communion*. So likewise Apostate or Lapsed Bishops were <sup>8</sup> *would have been extremely glad, if the Church would but have permitted him to communicate as a Layman.*

every Fault Clergymen were *Rome*, who had been deluded into the Schism of *Novatian*, was upon his Submission <sup>9</sup> *restored by Cornelius, to his former Office.*

## CHAPTER VIII.

§. 1. *Of the Independency of Churches.* §. 2. *Of the Dependency of Churches.* §. 3. *Of Synods, and the several kinds of them.* §. 4. *How often Synods were convened.* §. 5. *Who were the Members of Synods.* §. 6. *By whose Authority Synods were convened.* §. 7. *When convened, the manner of their Proceedings, a Moderator first chosen, what the Moderator's Office was.* §. 8. *Then they entred upon Business, which had relation either to Foreign Churches, or their own; with respect to Foreign Churches, their Acts were only advising.* §. 9. *With respect to their own Churches obliging. The End and Power of Synods enquired into.*

§. 1. TO that large Discourse of the Primitive Discipline, which was the Subject of the preceding Chapter, it will be necessary to add this Observation, that <sup>i</sup> all those judicial Acts were exerted in and by every single Parish, every

<sup>i</sup> Our learned Author tells us, that *all the judicial acts of Ecclesiastical discipline, mentioned in the preceding chapter, were exerted in and by every single parish;* which remark being wholly grounded upon his own principle, that a primitive Church or Diocese, and a modern parish or congregation, were one and the same thing, I shall refer the reader <sup>1</sup> to what has been said <sup>1</sup> *Vide supra, cap. 2.* before, in answer to that un-warrantable notion of *congregational Dioceses*; and in this place only adduce an instance, which I take to be a clear proof against the whole hypothesis, as well as the observation here deduced from it. The instance is this: <sup>2</sup> *Nepos, a Bishop in Egypt, had corrupted most of the Christians about him with the erroneous doctrine of the*

<sup>2</sup> *Ἐν τῷ Ἀρσινοείτη γενόμενος, ἐνδα πξὸ πολλοῦ τοῦτο ἐπεπόλαξε τὸ δόγμα—συγκαλέσας τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους καὶ διδασκάλους τῶν ἐν ταῖς*

particular Church having Power to exercise Discipline on her own Members, without the Concurrency of other

κώμαις ἀδελφῶν, παξόντων καὶ τῶν  
βονλομένων ἀδελφῶν, δημοσίᾳ τὸν  
ἴξιτασι ποιόσασθαι τοῦ λόγου  
προετρέψαμεν. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. 7. cap. 24.

*Millenaries* : *Dionysius*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, goes into that region of *Egypt*, called *Arsinoe*, where all this mischief had been done, and (*Nepos* himself being dead) he summons the *Presbyters and Teachers of the*

*brethren in the several villages there, together with as many of the brethren as were willing to come*, to hold a solemn conference on the subject ; and after three days reasoning with them, he happily brings them off from their mistaken opinions.

Now, who were these *Presbyters and Teachers of the brethren in the several villages*, summoned by *Dionysius* upon this occasion ? And in what capacity did they exercise their ministry in teaching the brethren committed to their care ? Not as supreme pastors over the several congregations ; for *Dionysius* himself, and the Catholic Church in that age, ever distinguished such

pastors by the proper name and title of *Bishops* ; and the lately deceased <sup>3</sup> *Nepos* is so styled here accordingly. If then they were not village-curates, instituted and deputed to their

respective cures by the Bishop of the neighbouring city of *Arsinoe*, (and possibly of some others in that province,) these congregations or religious assemblies of Christians under teaching ministers, were members of no Church at all ; for it is agreed by all, that without a Bishop, they could not be so. And that *Dionysius* (and *Eusebius* with him) should call *Bishops* by the name of *Presbyters and Teachers of the brethren in villages and hamlets up and down the country*, is what no sober antiquary, I believe, will venture to affirm. It remains, therefore, that they must have been *congregational parishes* relating to some Mother-Church, where their Bishop resided ; and consequently no one of them was an entire *particular Church* in the sense of antiquity,

<sup>3</sup> Νέπως ἐπίσκοπος τῶν κατ' Αἴγυπτον. Ib.

Churches ; else in those places where there might be but one Church for several Miles round, which we may reasonably suppose, the Members of that Church must have travelled several, if not Scores of Miles, to have had the consent of other Churches, for the Punishment of their Offenders : But there is no need to make this Supposition, since it was decreed by an *African Synod*, <sup>1</sup> that every one's Cause should be heard where the Crime was committed, because that to every Pastor was committed a particular Portion of Christ's Flock, which he was particularly to rule and govern, and to render an account thereof unto the Lord. And so another *African Synod*, that decreed the Rebaptization of those that were Baptized by Hereticks, thus conclude Pope *Stephen*, who held the contrary. <sup>2</sup> Whereas we know that some Bishops will not relinquish an Opinion, which they have embraced, but keeping the Bond of Peace and Concord with their Colleagues, will retain some proper and peculiar Sentiments,

<sup>1</sup> Statutum sit omnibus nobis, et æquum sit pariter ac justum, ut unius cujusque causa illic audiatur, ubi est crimen admisum, et singulis pastoribus portio gregis sit adscripta, quam regat unusquisque et gubernet rationem sui actus Domino redditurus. *Apud Cyprian. Epist. 55. §. 16. p. 142.*

<sup>2</sup> Cæterum scimus quosdam quod semel imbibierint nolle deponere, nec propositum suum facile mutare, sed salvo inter Collegas pacis et concordiae vinculo, quædam propria, quæ apud se semel sint usurpata, retinere, qua in re nec nos vim

or could exercise judicial acts of Ecclesiastical discipline within themselves ; for St. *Ignatius*'s maxim is owned by the learned Enquirer <sup>4</sup> himself, and by all the ancients with him, that without the Bishop it was not lawful to do any thing.

<sup>4</sup> Οὐκ ἔξον ἐστιν—ἀναγκαῖον ἐστιν ἀνευ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μηδὲν πράσσειν. Enq. c. 2. §. 2.

cuiquam facimus, aut legem damus, cum habeat in Ecclesiæ administratione voluntatis suæ arbitrium liberum unusquisque præpositus, rationem actus sui Domino redditurus. *Apud Cyprian. Epist. 72. §. 3. p. 217.*

*which they have formerly received; to these we offer no violence, or prescribe any Law, since every Bishop has in the administration of his Church, free liberty to follow his own Will, being to render an account of his Actions unto the Lord.*

After these two Synodical Determinations, it might be thought needless to produce the single Testimony of *Cyprian*, but that it shews us not only the practice of the Bishops of his Age, but also of their Predecessors.

<sup>3</sup> *Apud antecessores nostros quidam de Episcopis istic in provincia nostra dandam pacem mœchis non putaverunt et in totum pœnitentiæ locum contra adulteria clauerunt, non tamen a Coepiscoporum suorum collegio recesserunt, aut Catholice Ecclesiæ unitatem vel duritiae vel censuræ suæ obstinatione ruperunt, ut quia apud alios adulteris pax dabatur, qui non dabat de Ecclesia separaretur, manente concordiæ vinculo et perseverante Catholice Ecclesiæ individuo Sacramento, actum suum disponit et dirigit unusquisque Episcopus, rationem propositi sui Domino redditurus. Epist. 52. §. 13. p. 118.*

*Amongst the ancient Bishops of our Province, saith he, some thought that no Peace was to be given to Adulterers, for ever excluding them from the Communion of the Church; but yet they did not leave their Fellow-Bishops, or for this break the Unity of the Catholick Church; and those that gave Peace to Adulterers, did not therefore separate from those that did not, but still retaining the Bond of Concord, every Bishop disposed and directed his own Acts, rendering an account of them unto the Lord.*

Thus every Church was in this Sense independent; that is, without the Concurrence and Authority of any other Church; it had a sufficient Right and Power in its self

to punish and chastise all its delinquent and offending Members.

§. 2. But yet in another Sense it was dependent, as considered with other Churches, as part of the Church Universal, <sup>4</sup> *There is but one*

*Church of Christ, saith Cyprian, divided through the whole World into many Members, and one Episcopacy diffused through the numerous Concord of many Bishops.*

A Particular Church was not the whole Church of Christ, but only a part or Member of the Universal one; and as one Member of the natural Body hath a regard to all the other Members thereof, so a particular Church, which was but one Member of the Universal, had relation and respect to the other Members thereof. Hence tho' the Labours and Inspections of the Bishops were more peculiarly confined to their own Parishes, yet as Ministers of the Church Universal, they employed a general kind of Inspection over other Churches also, observing their Condition and Circumstances, and giving unto them an account of their own state and posture; as *Cyprian* inspected that of *Arles*, giving this as his Reason for it, that <sup>5</sup> *altho' they were many Pastors, yet they were but one Flock, and they ought to congregate and cherish all the Sheep, which Christ redeemed by his Blood and Passion.*

And the Clergy of the Church of *Rome* thanked *Cyprian*, that he had acquainted them with the state of the Church in *Africa*; for say they, <sup>6</sup> *We ought all of us to take care of the Body of*

<sup>4</sup> *Cum sit a Christo una Ecclesia per totum mundum in multa membra divisa, item episcopatus unus Episcoporum multorum concordi numerositate diffusus, Epist. 52. §. 13. p. 118.*

<sup>5</sup> *Nam etsi pastores multi sumus, unum tamen gregem passimus, et oves universas quas Christus sanguine suo et passione quæsivit, colligere et fovere debemus. Ep. 67. §. 6. p. 199.*

per varias quasque provincias  
membra digesta sunt, excubare.

*Apud Cyprian. Epist. 30. §. 4.*  
p. 67.

sent to another Bishop for his Advice and Decision thereof. As when *Dionysius* Bishop of *Alexandria* had a critical Cause to determine, he sent to *Xystus* Bishop of *Rome*,

<sup>7</sup> Καὶ γὰρ ὅντως ἀδελφε συμβουλῆς  
δέομαι, καὶ γνῶμην αἰτῶ παρὰ σοῦ.  
Apud Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 9. p. 254.

Martyrs, *Cyprian* writ to the

<sup>8</sup> Et dilectio communis et ratio  
exposcit, fratres charissimi,  
nihil conscientiæ vestræ subtra-  
here de his quæ apud nos ge-  
runtur, ut sit nobis circa utili-  
tatem ecclesiasticæ administra-  
tionis commune consilium. *Ep.*  
29. p. 66.

*trations.* In these, and in many other such like Cases, which would be needless to enumerate, there was a Correspondence between the particular Churches of the Universal one.

§. 3. But that that chiefly deserves our Consideration, was their Intercourse and Government by Synodical Assemblies, that is, by a Convocation of Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons, and Deputed Lay-men of several particular Churches, who frequently met together to maintain Unity, Love and Concord, to advise about their common Circumstances and Conditions, to regulate all Ecclesiastical or Church-Affairs within their respective Limits, and to

*the whole Church, whose Members are distended through various Provinces.* If the Bishop of one Church had any difficult Point to determine, he <sup>7</sup> to know his Opinion and Counsel therein. And so when there was some difference at *Carthage* about the Pacificatory Libels of the Church of *Rome* for their Advice therein. For saith he, <sup>8</sup> Dearly beloved Brethren, both common Reason and Love require, that none of these things that are transacted here, should be kept from your Knowledge, but that we should have your Counsel about Ecclesiastical Adminis-

manage other such like things, of which I shall more largely treat in the end of this Chapter.

That which must be spoken of in this Section is, the several kinds or sorts of Synods, the most august and supreme kind whereof, was an Universal or Oecumenical Synod, which was a Congregation of the Bishops and Deputies of as many Churches as would please to come from all Parts of the World: Of this sort I find but one within my limited space of the first three Hundred Years after Christ, and that was the <sup>9</sup> *Council of Antioch*, that <sup>9</sup> Apud Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 30. p. 279. condemned *Paulus Samosatenus*. Or if this will not pass for a General Council, there was no such one before that of *Nice*, which was held *Anno 325.* and so there was no one of this kind within that time to which I am confined.

But those Synods, which were very frequent within my prescribed time, were Provincial Synods, that is, as many particular Churches as could conveniently and orderly associate themselves together, and by their common Consent and Authority dispose and regulate all things that related to their Polity, Unity, Peace, and Order. What extent of Ground, or how many particular Churches each of such Synods did contain, cannot be determined; their Precincts were not alike in all places, <sup>k</sup> but according as their Circumstances and Conveniences would permit; so they

<sup>k</sup> Our Enquirer concludes, that the extent or first division of Ecclesiastical provinces depended wholly upon the mere conveniences or accidental circumstances of the Churches themselves. Approved antiquaries assign a more regular original.

<sup>5</sup> *Du Pin's* opinion is, that *after the Apostles' decease, the Christian Church did of course (as from the reason of the thing) apply themselves to the Bishop*

<sup>5</sup> *Du Pin speaking of the civil distribution of the Roman Empire, Simile aliquid (inquit) in rebus Ecclesiasticis fecere Chris-*

formed themselves into these Synodical Assemblies, and were governed in common by those Synods, who were

tiani, et sive cum ordinandus aut deponendus erat Episcopus, sive cum aliqua divisio erat in Ecclesia, &c. cum jam non amplius superessent Apostoli, per quos hæc antea componebantur, urbis metropoleos Episcopum adire *par fuit*, idque paulatim per consuetudinem invaluuit, ac tota Ecclesiarum distributio ad formam imperii facta est, urbesque metropoles, metropoles quoque fuerunt Ecclesiæ, et illarum Episcopus super universam provinciam potestatem habuit—tum *ad ordinandos*, &c. cum ad componenda Ecclesiarum dissidia, tum *ad convocandas synodos*. Du Pin. *Dissert. Ecclesiast. prima de Antiq. Eccl. Discipl.* §. 7.

<sup>6</sup> See Hammond of Schism, p. 42—54. in 8vo. Ed. Lon. 1654.

Canon of the first *Nicene Council* expressly calls such a peculiar pre-eminence of many *chief Churches*, in several provinces of the empire, by the name of [Ἄρχαῖα Ἅρη] <sup>7</sup> or customs of an ancient standing in the Church; and then canonically decrees them to

<sup>7</sup> Τὰ ἀρχαῖα Ἅρη κρατεῖτω, τὰ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ Λιβύῃ καὶ Πενταπλεῖ μόσπερ τον ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ἐπίσκοπον πάνταν τούτων ἔχειν ἐξουσίαν, ἐπειδὴν καὶ τῷ ἐν τῇ Ρώμῃ ἐπίσκοπῳ τοῦτο συμβεῖται. ὅμοιως δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν καὶ ἐν ταῖς

*of the metropolis, or chief city in that province of the empire, wherein they first were founded, in case any Bishop were to be ordained or deposed, or any controversy arose amongst them; who called together the Bishops of the same (civil) province, and jointly managed all those Ecclesiastical affairs, which the Apostles themselves had done in their life-time; by which means, the distribution of Churches, though not by canon, yet by general custom, was quickly modelled after the form of the empire itself.* The learned Dr. <sup>6</sup> Hammond goes farther, and clearly shews, that the Apostles themselves invested those Bishops of the chief cities with a right of regulating the common discipline of all the Churches within the peculiar provinces adjoining to their Sees. The sixth

continues so still. The Bishops then, it seems, of the more eminent cities both convened Councils, and *presided in them*, long

called the Synods of such or such a Province: As we

before the first general Council ordered any thing synodically about it; as the accurate *Valesius* observes, in his notes upon *Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. 5. cap. 23*, where, (the historian speaking of *Theophilus*, Bishop of *Cæsarea*'s presiding in the Council of *Palestine*,) he says that

<sup>8</sup> *the Bishop of Cæsarea, both before and long after the Council of Nice, had the dignity of a Metropolitan, so that he presided in all the Councils of Palestine, as Bishop of the first See; and where it was otherwise (as it often was in Africa) there the same privilege devolved of course upon the eldest Bishop of the province, as the same Valesius observes upon*  
<sup>9</sup> *Palma's presiding in the Synod of Pontus, because the eldest Bishop there.*

If then by the primitive Synods <sup>1</sup> *assembling themselves by their own authority and appointment*, our Enquirer means, that every order of Christians in his mixed Councils of Laity and Clergy concerted that matter together, and by a joint authority determined, that a Council should be called; this notion (as we have seen) is very different from that of other antiquaries, who place that prerogative of calling Councils in some peculiar chief Bishop in each province of the primitive Church, from the very time of the Apostles' decease, as they do also their right of presiding there when they met; so that, at the opening of a Council, there seems to have been no such concern (as our

ἄλλαις ἐπαρχίαις τὰ πρεσβεῖα σώζεσθαι ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις. Conc. Nic. 1. Can. 6.

<sup>8</sup> *Cæsariensis Episcopus ante Concilium Nicænum, et diu posse, metropolitani honorem ac dignitatem semper obtinuit, ita ut omnibus Palestinæ conciliis præsideret tanquam primæ sedis Episcopus. Vales. in loc.*

<sup>9</sup> *Palmam præsedit ait ob antiquitatis prærogativam.—Simplicissima sessionis fuit ratio, ut antiquissimus Episcopus cæteris præsideret. Vales. Ib.*

<sup>1</sup> *See also Du Pin in his 9th §. of the fore-cited first Hist. Diss.*

<sup>1</sup> Coepiscopis nostris in eadem provincia constitutis. *Ep.* 67. §. 1. p. 198.

<sup>2</sup> In provincia nostra. *Ep.* 52. §. 13. p. 118.

<sup>3</sup> Per provinciam nostram. *Ep.* 42. §. 2. p. 99.

<sup>4</sup> Per provinciam. *Ep.* 55. §. 18. p. 143.

<sup>5</sup> Latius fusa est nostra provincia. *Ep.* 45. §. 2. p. 103.

<sup>6</sup> Apud nos et fere per provincias universas tenetur, ut—ad eam plebem cui præpositus ordinatur Episcopi ejusdem provinciæ proximi quique conveniunt. *Epist.* 68. §. 6. p. 202.

read in *Cyprian* of the <sup>1</sup> *Province of Arles, and the Bishops therein*. And *Cyprian* frequently speaks of the Bishops of his Province, as the Bishops <sup>2</sup> *in our Province*, and <sup>3</sup> *throughout our Province*, and <sup>4</sup> *throughout the Province*: And tells us that <sup>5</sup> *his Province was very large*, and that it was <sup>6</sup> *the custom of his Province, and almost all other Provinces, that upon the Vacancy of a Parish, the neighbouring Bishops of that Province should meet together at that Parish to ordain them a new Bishop*.

§. 4. How often these Provincial Synods were convened, is uncertain, since that varied according to their Circumstances, and their respective Customs. *Firmilian* Bishop of *Cæsarea in Cappadocia* writes, that in his Province <sup>7</sup> *they met every Year*.

<sup>7</sup> Per singulos annos in unum conveniamus. *Apud Cyp. Ep.* 75. §. 3. p. 236.

And whosoever will consider the frequent Synods that are mentioned in *Cyprian*, will find that in his Province they met at least once, and sometimes twice or thrice a Year.

<sup>2</sup> *Enq. ch. 8. §. 7.*

learned Author <sup>2</sup> imagines) about finding *some grave and renowned Bishop* (one or more)

to moderate for them, since the person to whom, of common custom, that belonged, was known to them beforehand.

§. 5. <sup>1</sup> As for the Members that composed these Synods, they were Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons, and Deputed

<sup>1</sup> The Enquirer tells us, that the proper members of the synodical Assemblies in the primitive Church, were *Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons, and deputed Laymen, in behalf of the people of their respective Churches.* And yet

he says, a little after, <sup>3</sup> that <sup>3</sup> Enq. ch. 8. § 9.

*Firmilian's* yearly synods were

mere *clerical convocations*, consisting of *Bishops* and *Presbyters* only. To prove, however, that all these orders of men were members of a primitive Synod, he quotes two passages from *Eusebius*, which make it not unlikely that some of each of them might be present at the Councils to which he there refers.

Our Author says, that in the great Council of *Antioch*, which condemned *Paulus Samosatenus*, there were present *Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons*, and the *Churches of God*; (by their lay-representatives, as he explains it,) because, in the synodical epistle which the *Fathers* of the Council sent to the Christian Churches abroad, (after that Council was over) they sent the joint salutation of all the other members, together with their own. The argument from which authority plainly amounts to this: there were, *probably*, present in that Council of *Antioch* some of all those orders of men; therefore, they were all there as *proper members* of the Council. Now, to be *really present* in any Court or Council, is one thing, and to have *a right of membership and session* there, is another. And in order to judge aright, where the difference lies in the case before us, let these few particulars be considered:—

1st. That Bishops were so essentially members of the primitive Councils, that, in the familiar language of the ancients, a *Convention of Bishops* and a *primitive Council*, were convertible terms. And of this our learned Enquirer is very sensible; for he <sup>4</sup> tells us, (from *Eusebius*,) that *Polycrates presided over a* <sup>4</sup> Enq. ch. 8. §. 7. *Synod of Bishops*, which was no other than the great *Council of Asia*, assembled about the

Laymen in behalf of the People of their respective  
controversy of keeping *Easter*.

<sup>5</sup> Enq. ch. 6. § 2.

And he says <sup>5</sup> elsewhere, that  
*Privatus, Bishop of Lambese,*

*was deposed by a Synod of ninety Bishops.* In both which places, it is manifest, a Convention, or Synod of Bishops, and a primitive Council, were one and the same thing. The ancients, therefore, bear sufficient witness, that Bishops were at the least necessary, if not the only members of a primitive Council. Whereas,

2ndly. No passage, I believe, in the writings of antiquity, affirms so much of Presbyters, Deacons, or people, as being present at them. This express evidence, therefore, of antiquity on the one side, and entire silence on the other, gives a fair occasion to distinguish who were necessarily present, and who were occasionally, or prudentially called thither; especially, if we consider,

3rdly. That whosoever were present in any primitive Council, the *whole right* of vote, or suffrage, in passing any acts or canons there, was peculiar to the *Bishops* alone. And this our learned Enquirer has made clear to my hand, in one of the most eminent instances which the writings of the ancients can afford us:

<sup>6</sup> Enq. ch. 8. § 7.

in the <sup>6</sup> place just referred to, he tells us, that *the office and duty of a moderator in a Synod*

*was (amongst other things) to*

*take the votes and suffrages of the members of the Synod; and last of all, to give his own; as is evident in the proceedings of the Council of Carthage, which are extant at the end of St. Cyprian's works. Cyprian, being moderator, sums up all, telling the Synod what they had heard; and nothing more remained to be done, but the declaration of their judgment thereupon. Accordingly the Bishops gave their respective votes and decisions; and last of all, Cyprian, as President, gave in his.* Now in this account we find, that St. Cyprian, as moderator, took the votes and suffrages of the members of that Council; and if that Father's own authority may be received, they were *Bishops only*, whose votes and suffrages he then took; and therefore *Bishops only*, (in the Enquirer's account) were *members* of it. The proceedings of the

Churches. Thus at that great Synod of *Antioch*, that con-

Council, extant at the end of St. *Cyprian's* works, clearly prove as much. We there find that,

<sup>7</sup> at the opening of the Council, some few learned letters were read, containing the sense and substance of the controversy about which they met; whereupon, St. *Cyprian*, the moderator, addresses his fellow-Bishops to this effect: You have heard, my beloved colleagues, what has been *written* on one side and the other. And

now what remains is only this, that each of us [*the Bishops here present*, for so the context obliges us to read it] give in our respective votes and suffrages, or declare our opinions in the case. Which accordingly the Bishops there present, being in number eighty-seven, immediately did; and their suffrages alone, so obtained and given, are recorded by St. *Cyprian* himself, as the *whole* of that Council. What part or interest, then, in its proceedings had any one order of men, there present, besides the *Bishops*? St. *Cyprian* (says our Enquirer) in summing up all, told the *Synod* what they had heard, and called upon *them*, (i. e. upon the *Synod* again) to *declare their judgment*: and how did this *Synod* (which were surely all the members of it) declare their *judgment* in the case? Why, the *Bishops accordingly* (says he) gave their respective votes and decisions, and last of all, *Cyprian* gave in his. Can any thing be clearer, than that in this account the *Bishops alone* are owned to be the *whole Synod*, to whom alone their President applied for votes, and that no others gave in any? And if this eminent Council (which may justly be called the brightest precedent of primitive Synods, within the times prescribed by the Enquiry) had Presbyters, Deacons, and many of the people present at it, while the Bishops only, who were addressed under the name and title of the *Synod*, had the sole right of suffrage, and determined

<sup>7</sup> Cum in unum convenissent, et lectæ essent literæ, Cyprianus dixit; Audistis, collegæ dilectissimi, quid mihi Jubaianus Coepiscopus noster scripserit, et quid ego ei rescripserim—lectæ sunt vobis et aliae Jubaiani literæ —superest, ut de hâc re, singuli quid sentiamus, proferamus.  
*Cypr. in Exord. Conc. Carthag.*  
A.D. 256.

<sup>8</sup> Ἐπίσκοποι καὶ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ διάκονοι καὶ αἱ ἐκκλησιαὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ.  
*Ex Epist. Synod. apud Euseb.*  
l. 7. c. 30. p. 279.

demned *Paulus Samosatenus*, there were present <sup>8</sup> *Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons, and the Churches of God*, that is, Laymen that represented the

all questions there, what would our learned Author gather more

<sup>8</sup> *Euseb. Hist. Eccl.* l. 7. c. 30.

from <sup>8</sup> *Eusebius's* account of the Council at *Antioch*, which condemned *Paulus Samosatenus*,

supposing the historian had plainly said, that all those orders of men were present both at the time of the debate, and at the passing of the sentence? Why should we think their proceedings were different from what appears to have been the practice of Synods in those times? The reason of the thing itself must incline us to believe they were not, and no argument is adduced to make us think otherwise. Besides, the quotation from *Eusebius*, wherein the *Churches* are named in general terms, (as well as Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons), is no part of any *synodical act*, or so much as of a *debate* in that Council. It is barely a part of the synodical Epistle, which those venerable Prelates (who in the

<sup>9</sup> *Ecclesia in Episcopo. Cypr. Ep. 66. § penult.* sense of antiquity were the proper representatives of the

*Churches* in which they pre-

sided) sent the formal saluta-

tions of their respective *Churches* to the sister *Churches* in all other parts, together with their own. By which, the historian himself so little understood *them* (or any lay-representatives of theirs) to be proper members of that Council, that when he speaks expressly of the first meeting of it, he tells us, it was a *Convention of Bishops*, who assembled at *Antioch*, to suppress that open enemy of the *Church*; nor does he make mention of any other order of

men, as belonging to that Council. His words are these: 'Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria, by reason of his old age, sent his suffrage by a letter to them; but the rest of the Pastors of the

<sup>1</sup> Ο κατ' Αλεξανδρειαν Διονύσιος—γῆρας αἰτιασάμενος—δι' ἐπιστολῆς ἀντοῦ τὴν γράμμην παρεποτίσας. Οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν Ποιμένες ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν ὡς ἐπὶ λυμεῶνα τὴν

People of their several Churches. <sup>m</sup> So also we read in an ancient Fragment in *Eusebius*, that when the Heresie of

*Churches* [that is, plainly such as *Dionysius* was] <sup>2</sup> came together there from every quarter to

oppose that destructive ravager of the flock of Christ; and when he mentions the last session wherein *Paulus* was actually

condemned, he calls it a *Synod* of innumerable Bishops, which met there, and cast him out of the Catholic Church. This was *Eusebius's Antiochian Council*, which deposed *Paulus*, and no others are mentioned as having concurred with them in it.

<sup>m</sup> The faithful in Asia (says an anonymous Author in *Eusebius*) met together to examine and condemn the growing errors of the Montanists. Now, the [*οἱ πιστοὶ*] or the faithful here mentioned, must not be understood (I conceive) in that peculiar and appropriate sense, by which was signified, in the primitive Church, only the <sup>3</sup> highest station of the Christian laity, admitted to all the mysteries of it: for then these Asiatic Synods would have

had neither Bishops, Priests, nor

Deacons in them, (which, I presume, is not pretended)—the [*οἱ πιστοὶ*] therefore, must be taken here in the more general sense, for true and orthodox believers, in opposition to infidels on the one hand (as our blessed Lord uses that distinction, *John xx. 27*), and to heretics on the other, as the distinction between them and the Montanists, requires the words to be understood in the quotation before us: and if so, what sort of evidence is here given, to prove that this or the other order of Christians acted with synodical right and authority in those Assemblies? or how, indeed, does it prove what particular orders of them were then present, merely to tell us, that true and orthodox Christians met together to examine and condemn the heresy of the Montanists? which is all that anonymous Author here asserts.

τοῦ Χριστοῦ ποίησις συνέστα. Euseb. Eccl. Hist. l. 7. c. 27.

<sup>2</sup> Τελευταῖς συγκροτηθείστης πλειόνων ὅσων ἐπισκόπων Συνόδου—καταγγωθείς της Καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἐκκηρύττεται. Ib. c. 29.

<sup>3</sup> See Dr. Cave's Prim. Christ. Part l. c. 9. p. 219. Edit. 3. in 8vo. 1676.

9 Τῶν γὰρ κάτα τὴν Ἀσίαν πιστῶν  
εἰς τοῦτο συνελθόντων, &c. *Apud Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 16. p. 181.*

*mination condemned it.* So also when there were some Heats in the Church of *Carthage* about the Restitution of the Lapsed, <sup>9</sup>*Cyprian* writes from his Exile, that the Lapsed should be patient till God had restored Peace to the

<sup>1</sup> *Ut Episcopi plures in unum convenientes præsente et stantium plebe—disponere omnia consilii communis religione possimus. Epist. 14. §. 2. p. 41.*

the *Montanists* was fix'd and preach'd, <sup>9</sup>*the Faithful in Asia met together several times to examine it, and upon examination condemned it.* So also when there were some Heats in the Church of *Carthage* about the Restitution of the Lapsed, <sup>9</sup>*Cyprian* writes from his Exile, that the Lapsed should be patient till God had restored Peace to the Church, and then there should <sup>1</sup> be convened a *Synod of Bishops, and of the Laity who had stood firm during the Persecution, to consult about, and determine their Affairs.*

<sup>9</sup> To confirm the fore-cited authorities from *Eusebius*, the Enquirer reminds us of that eminent Council, which St. *Cyprian* so often promised to call (as soon as the Church's peace was restored) about *the case of the lapsed*; assuring his people again and again, that *Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons, and the standing Laity, should be present at it*; and further, that the *Martyrs, Confessors, and whole body of the Clergy of Rome highly approved of such a general Convention upon that occasion.* Now, why such repeated assurances of calling all those orders of men to that particular Council, if all of them, of course, had a right of session in every Council? Or why is such signal notice taken of the *Roman Martyrs, Confessors, and whole Clergy's approving so much this proposition of the Bishop of Carthage* upon that occasion, if he could not hold a *Synod* without them? These very circumstances would incline a man to think, that all those orders of Christians were not the ordinary and necessary members of every Ecclesiastical *Synod*; but that something extraordinary made it advisable to have them present at that time. That St. *Cyprian* himself assigned such a peculiar reason for it, is observable wherever he made mention of it; and the Clergy of *Rome* (whose authority is here quoted) not only confirm, but explain that reason.

Which Proposition was approved by *Moses* and *Maximus*, and other *Roman Confessors*, who liked *the consulting*  
<sup>2</sup> *of a Synod of Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons, Confessors, and the standing Laity*, as also did <sup>o</sup> the whole Body of the Clergy of the Church

<sup>2</sup> Consultis omnibus Episcopis, Presbyteris, Diaconis, Confessoribus, et ipsis stantium Laicis. *Apud Cyprian. Epist. 26. §. 4. p. 60.*

• The Clergy of *Rome* approved St. *Cyprian's* whole scheme of convening that great Council, *in so momentous a case*, for two reasons:—

1st. <sup>4</sup>Because it seemed to them a hard matter duly to examine so great a number of persons [as were likely to appear criminals in that case] without a great number assisting in it.

And 2dly. (In their opinion, also,) it would be an invidious thing for any one single person to pass his sentence upon criminals in so universal a cause as that was, wherein the whole world, in a manner, was concerned as well as himself; and that such a private decree would scarcely be thought authentic enough in so very public a concern, without the concurrence of more with him.

In which declaration these particulars seem clear.

(1st.) That the *Roman Clergy* conceived, St. *Cyprian* must either try the lapsed brethren of his diocese, by a private Consistory of his own, or else in a public Council convened for that purpose.

(2dly.) That if he had tried them the *former way*, then he

<sup>4</sup> Quanquam nobis in *tam ingenti negotio placeat*, quod et tu ipse tractasti prius—perquam enim nobis et *invidiosum* et *onerosum* videtur, non per *multos examinare*, quod per multos commissum videatur; et *unum sententiam dicere*, cum *tam grande crimen* per multos diffusum notetur exisse; quoniam *nec firmum decretum* potest esse, quod non *plurimorum* videbitur habuisse consensum; aspice *totum orbem* pene vastatum—et *idcirco tam grande expeti concilium* quam late propagatum videtur esse delictum. *Cypr. Ep. 30. §. 6. Edit. Oxon.*

<sup>3</sup> Collatione consiliorum cum Episcopis, Presbyteris, Diaconis, Confessoribus pariter ac stantibus Laicis facta, lapsorum tractare rationem. *Apud Cypr. Epist. 31. §. 5.* p. 70.

of *Rome*, who were willing, that that Affair <sup>3</sup> of the *Lapsed* should be determined by the common Counsel of the Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons,

himself had been the *one only judge* in the case. For what other sense can be made of their [*unum sententiam dicere*] here urged as an invidious thing, in case he had not called a Council for it? (where, by the way, I desire the reader to observe, how plainly this *Roman* Clergy place the *whole judicial power* of a diocesan Consistory in a single person, i. e. in the Bishop alone.)

But (3dly.) they therefore, approved his whole design of calling so numerous a Council, both of his own Clergy and people at home, and of as many Bishops as could be got from abroad; not only because the examination of so many criminals would be managed with greater care and less envy, if all the brethren were present, and assisted the Bishops in it, (which plainly shews they argued upon no right of their own,) but also because the decree and censure, which should be passed upon the offenders at last, would be more firm and satisfactory to the whole Christian world, who had so great an interest in it. For then it would not be the decree or sentence of only one Bishop, (as it must have been in the other case,) but would have the consent of *many*, i. e. of many such as that *one* was; for the word *plurimorum* in the latter clause is plainly set in opposition to the *unum* in the former. Hence it appears, what an entire synodical right and power this *Roman* Clergy attribute to the Bishops in that Council, and what an occasional and prudential reason they assign for so many others being present there also. And this agrees with St. *Cyprian's* own account of the same Council; who, as often as he wrote about the vast number of the lapsed, the importance of that case, and the public interest of all the Churches in it, assured his people and all his correspondents, that every order of the Church should be present at the solemn trial of those lapsed brethren. But when he acquainted *Jubainus*, how the trial was carried on, he expresses himself only

*Confessors, and þ the standing Laity.* And thus at that great thus : <sup>5</sup> *A numerous Assembly of us Bishops met after the persecution was over, and such and such moderate decrees we passed there ; and in case such a number of Bishops in Africa* (as he further relates the matter), <sup>6</sup> *should not seem to be sufficient (placing the sufficiency of the Council in the number of the Bishops there) we wrote also to Cornelius of Rome, who, holding a Council with many of his fellow-Bishops, fully agreed with us.*

þ As to the people's part or interest in *all primitive Councils*, it may be observed,

1st. That their being present *only in some*, and not *in all*, is a fair argument against *their right of session in any*. Right and claim are seldom wanting to themselves, and popular rights the least of any; and yet we seldom hear anything of them amongst the many Synods we meet with in antiquity.

2ndly. Where we hear the most of the presence of the people at Councils, there are special reasons given for the *particular* occasions of their being there, and such as related but little to the essence or constitution of the Council itself. Such reasons, we find, St. *Cyprian* and the *Roman* Clergy gave for the *standing laity's* coming to that extraordinary Council, where their *lapsed brethren* were to be tried. And,

3rdly. Though our Enquirer has adduced two or three instances of the presence of lay-brethren in the primitive Councils, (and we have seen what sort of instances they were) yet in his *general account* of them (which is far more material) he tells us from the great authority of *Firmilian*, that the Eastern Synods of those times consisted of <sup>7</sup> *Bishops and Presbyters, who met every year to dispose those things which*

<sup>7</sup> See Enq. ch. 8. §. 9.

<sup>4</sup> Episcopi plurimis—cum Presbyteris et Diaconis, præsente etiam plebis maxima parte. *Act. Concil. Carthag. apud Cyprian.* p. 443.

Council held at *Carthage*, An. 258. there were present Eighty Seven <sup>4</sup> *Bishops*, together with *Presbyters, Deacons, and a great part of the Laity*.

§. 6. If it shall be demanded by whose Authority and Appointment Synods were assembled. To this it will be replied, That it must necessarily have been by their own, because in those Days there was no Christian Magistrate to order or determine those Affairs.

§. 7. When a Synod was convened, before ever they entred upon any Publick Causes, they chose out of the gravest and renownedst Bishops amongst them, one, or sometimes two, to be their Moderator or Moderators ; as

<sup>5</sup> *Act. Concil. Carthag. ad Calcem oper. Cypr.*

at the Council held at *Carthage*, Anno 258. <sup>5</sup> *Cyprian* was Moderator or Prolocutor

thereof. And so we read of the Prolocutors of several Synods, that were assembled in divers parts of the World, to determine the Controversies concerning *Easter* : As

<sup>6</sup> *Apud Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 23. p. 190, 191.*

<sup>6</sup> *Victor Bishop of Rome was Prolocutor of a Synod held there. Palmas Bishop of*

*Amastris Moderator of a Synod held in Pontus; and Irenæus Bishop of Lyons of another in France.*

<sup>7</sup> *Apud Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 24. p. 191.*

<sup>7</sup> *Polycrates Bishop of Ephesus presided over a Synod of*

*were committed to their charge.* Now can we think that excellent Father so defective in his account to St. *Cyprian*, or so injurious to all the *laity* of those Churches, as to give no intimation of *their* meeting with the rest; if either personally, or by representatives, they were members of those Synods, as well as any of the others who met there?

Asiatick *Bishops*; and <sup>8</sup> at a <sup>8</sup> *Apud Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 23.*  
*Convocation in Palestina there* p. 190.  
*were two Moderators, viz.*

*Theophilus Bishop of Cæsarea, and Narcissus Bishop of Jerusalem.* The Office and Duty of a Moderator was to preside in the Synod, to see all things calmly and fairly debated and decreed; and at the conclusion of any Cause, to sum up what had been debated and urged on both sides, to take the Votes and Suffrages of the Members of the Synod; and last of all, to give his own. All this is evident in the Proceedings of the Council of *Carthage*, which are extant at the end of *Cyprian's Works*, *Cyprian* being Moderator of that Council: After all things were read and finished relating to the Question in hand, sums up all, telling the Synod what they had heard, and that nothing more remained to be done, but the Declaration of their Judgment thereupon. Accordingly thereunto the Bishops gave their respective Votes and Decisions; and last of all *Cyprian*, as President, gave in his.

§. 8. When the Moderator was chosen, then they entered upon the consideration of the Affairs that lay before them, which may be consider'd in a two-fold respect, either as relating to Foreign Churches, or to those Churches only of whom they were the Representatives. As for Foreign Churches, their Determinations were not obligatory unto them, because they were not represented by them; and so the chiefest matter they had to do with them, was to give them their Advice and Counsel in any difficult Point, which they had proposed to them; as when the People of *Astorga* and *Emerita* in *Spain* had written to some *African* Churches for their Advice, what to do with their two Bishops, who had lapsed in Times of Persecution. This Case was debated in a Synod held *Anno 258*, whose Opinion thereupon is to be seen in their Synodical Epistle,

extant at large amongst the Works of *Cyprian*. *Epist.* 68. p. 200.

§. 9. But with respect unto those particular Churches, whose Representatives they were, their Decrees were binding and obligatory, since the Regulation and Management of their Affairs was the general End of their Convening.

Various and many were the particular Ends of these Synodical Conventions, as for the prevention of Injustice and Partiality in a Parish Consistory: As suppose, that such a Consistory had wrongfully and unrighteously censured one of their Members, what should that censured Person do, unless appeal to the Synod to have his Cause heard there, as *Felicissimus* did, who after he was excommunicated by his own Parish, of which *Cyprian* was Bishop, <sup>6</sup> had his Cause heard before a Synod, who ratified and confirmed the Sentence of Excommunication against him. And therefore we may suppose it to be for the prevention of Partiality and Injustice; that in *Lesser Asia*, <sup>7</sup> Offenders were usually absolved by the Synod, which met every Year. Synods also were assembled for the examining, condemning, and excommunicating of all Hereticks within their Limits, that so the Faithful might avoid and shun them: As *Paulus Samosatenus* was condemned by the

<sup>6</sup> Literas ad te collegæ nostri manu sua subscriptas miserunt, qui auditis eis, quid senserint, et quid pronunciaverint, ex eorum literis disces. *Cypr. Ep.* 42. §. 5. p. 99.

<sup>7</sup> Per singulos annos conveniamus—ut lapsis fratribus per pœnitentiam medela quæratur. *Firmil. apud Cypr. Epist.* 75. §. 3. p. 236.

demding, and excommunicating of all Hereticks within their Limits, that so the Faithful might avoid and shun them: As *Paulus Samosatenus* was condemned by the <sup>8</sup> Council of Antioch, for resolving of all difficult Points that did not wound the Essentials of Religion, or had relation unto the Discipline

<sup>8</sup> Euseb. lib. 7. c. 30. p. 279.

of the Church, as when there was some Scruple about the Time of baptizing of Children.

*a* *Synod of Sixty Six Bishops met together to decide it.* And so when there were some Disputes concerning

the Martyrs Power to restore the Lapsed, *1 Synods were to be assembled to decide them.* But why do I go about

to reckon up Particulars, when as they are endless; let this suffice in general, that Synods were convened for the Regulation and Management of all Ecclesiastical Affairs within their respective Jurisdictions, as *Firmilian* writes, that in

*his Country <sup>2</sup> the Bishops and <sup>3</sup> Presbyters met together every Year, to dispose those things which were committed to their Charge.* Here they consulted about the Disci-

pline, Government, and External Polity of their Churches, and what means were expedient and proper for their Peace, Unity and Order, which by their common Consent they enacted and decreed to be observed by all the Faithful of those Churches whom they did represent.

<sup>9</sup> *Apud Cyprian. Epist. 59. p. 162.*

<sup>1</sup> *In unum convenientes—disponere omnia possimus. Apud Cypr. Epist. 14. §. 2. p. 41.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ut per singulos annos seniores et præpositi in unum conveniamus ad disponenda ea quæ curæ nostræ commissa sunt. Apud Cypr. Ep. 75. §. 3. p. 236.*

<sup>4</sup> That Presbyters, more or less in number, were generally present with their Bishops in provincial Synods, is not to be doubted; that they should all of right be there, we may be sure the necessities of the Church would not allow; that, as necessary members of a Synod, they had their stated representatives there, by the usage or appointment of the Church, cannot be evidenced, I believe, from any writings of primitive antiquity; and that they had no right of suffrage in passing any canons or censures, when they sat there, is manifest, I think, by what has been said before on the subject. All which particulars seem to point out to us this conclusion, that, in those primitive times, Presbyters came to

He who denies this, must be very little acquainted with the ancient Councils, especially those which were held after the Emperors became Christians. The reason why we find not more Synodical Decrees of the three first Centuries, comes not from that they judicially determined none, or required not the Observance of them; but from that, either they were not careful, or the Fury and Violence of the Times would not permit them to transmit them down to their Successors; or through the length of time they are lost, and scarce any thing besides the Names of such Synods are now remembred; and of Multitudes, neither Names nor Decrees are to be found: But yet there is enough escap'd the Fury of Persecution, and the length of time to convince us, that those Synods did decree those things, which they judged expedient for the Polity, Discipline and Government of those particular Churches, that were within their respective Provinces, and required them to be observed by all the Members thereof.

Thus we find these following Canons determined by several Synods in *Africa*, *viz.*

Councils, according as each Bishop of the several dioceses in the province chose out some one or more of them to be proper counsellors and assistants to them, in such synodical debates and consultations as should come before them, the opinions of those Presbyters being of considerable weight with the venerable Fathers themselves, who alone sat as *necessary* members, *proper* judges, and *sole* legislators there.

<sup>1</sup> The Councils, as such, are familiarly styled *a pure Convention of Bishops only*, in St. *Cyprian's* language, as well as in that of the accurate *Eusebius*. The learned *Enquirer* seems careful to conceal this. Quoting many canons from St. *Cyprian's* works, he barely tells us, that such and such things were declared *in Synods*; though St. *Cyprian* is as clear in telling us, they were *Synods of Bishops* who decreed them, as that they were decreed at all. For instance, St. *Cyprian* tells us, (in his first Epistle,

<sup>3</sup> *That though a Delinquent had not endured the whole time of Penance, yet if he was very sick, and in danger of Death, he should be absolved.*

<sup>4</sup> *That at the approach of a Persecution, penitent Offenders should be restored to the Churches Peace.*

<sup>5</sup> *That Penance should not be hastily passed over, or Absolution be rashly and speedily given.*

<sup>6</sup> *That all lapsed and apostate Clergymen, should, upon their Repentance, be only admitted to Communion as Laymen, and be never more capable of discharging or performing any Ecclesiastical Function.*

<sup>7</sup> *That no Clergyman should be a Curator or Trustee of a last Will or Testament.*

*Edit. Oxon.* <sup>5</sup> *that it was long since decreed in a Council of Bishops, that no clergyman should be trustee of any man's will.* The Enquirer had occasion to quote this canon, but

only <sup>6</sup> tells us [*statutum sit*] it was so decreed, though [in *Concilio Episcoporum*] in a Council of Bishops, be part of the same clause. In the same place, we meet with four canons more; if we only peruse the several passages from whence the Enquirer quotes them, we shall at once find, that in St. Cyprian's account they were made by *Synods of Bishops only*.

<sup>3</sup> *Statueramus—Si periculum infirmitatis urgeret, pacem sub ictu mortis acciperent. Apud Cyprian. Epist. 54. §. 1. p. 132.*

<sup>4</sup> *Censuimus—Pacem dandam esse, et eos ad prælium, quod imminet, armari et instrui oportere. Ibidem.*

<sup>5</sup> *Ante legitimum et plenum tempus satisfactionis—pax ei concederetur. Cyprian. Epist. 59. §. 1. p. 164.*

<sup>6</sup> *Decreverit ejusmodi homines ad poenitentiam quidem agendum posse admitti, ab Ordinatione autem Cleri atque Sacerdotali honore prohiberi. Apud Cyprian. Epist. 68. §. 7. p. 202.*

<sup>7</sup> *Statutum sit, ne quis de Clericis et Dei ministris tutorem vel curatorem testamento suo constituat. Apud Cyprian. Ep. 66. §. 1. p. 195.*

<sup>5</sup> *Cum jampridem in Concilio Episcoporum statutum sit. Cyp. Ep. 1. Ed. Oxon. Pam. Ep. 66.*

<sup>6</sup> *See Enq. ch. 8. §. 9.*

And many other such like Synodical Decrees relating to the Discipline and Polity of the Church, are to be met with in *Cyprian*, which were ever accounted obligatory to all those Parishes who lived within those respective Provinces, and had their Representatives in those respective Synods; for to what purpose else did they decree them, if it had been fruitless and ridiculous to have made frequent and wearisome Journeys, with great Cost and Pains, to have debated and determined those things, which they judged expedient for the Churches Well-being, if after all it was indifferent, whether they were obeyed, or not?

But that their Decrees were binding, is adjudged by an *African* Synod of Sixty Bishops, held *Anno 254*,

<sup>8</sup> Victor antequam poenitentiam plenam egisset, temerè Therapius, pacem dederit, quæ res nos satis movet, recessum esse à decreti nostri auctoritate. *Apud Cyp. Epist. 59. §. 1. p. 164.*

<sup>8</sup> who sharply rebuked a certain Bishop called Therapius, for breaking the Canons of a Synod, in absolving a certain Presbyter called Victor, before the time appointed by that Synod was expired. Probably the Breaker of those

Canons was to have been Deposed or Suspended, or some other severe Punishment inflicted on him, since the Bishops of this Synod speak as if they had moderated the Rigour of the Canons against Therapius, in that they

<sup>9</sup> Satisfuit objurgare Therapium—quod temere hoc fecerit, et instruxisse ne quid tale de cætero faciat. *Ibidem.*

<sup>9</sup> were contented only with chiding him for his rashness, and with strictly charging him, that he should do so no more.

<sup>1</sup> Censuerunt ne quis frater excedens, ad tutelam vel curam Clericum nominaret, ac si quis hoc fecisset, non offerretur pro eo, nec Sacrificium pro dormitione ejus celebraretur. *Apud Cypr. Epist. 66. §. 2. p. 195.*

So another Synod in *Africa* decreed, that <sup>1</sup> if any one should name a Clergy-man in his last Will and Testament for his Trustee, no Sacrifice

should be offered for him after his Death. (What the meaning of this Offering of Sacrifice after his Death is, I shall not shew here, since I must treat of it in another place.) Accordingly when *Geminius Victor* Bishop of *Furnis* had by his last Will and Testament constituted *Geminius Faustinus* a Presbyter, his Trustee, *Cyprian* Bishop of *Carthage*, writ unto the Clergy and Laity of *Furnis* touching this matter, wherein he informs them, <sup>2</sup> *That he and his Colleagues were very much offended that Geminius Victor had thus broke the Canons of the Synod; but that since he had done it, he hoped they would take care that he should suffer the Penalty annexed to the Breach thereof, that in conformity thereunto they would not mention him in their Prayers, or make any Oblation for him, that so the Decree of the Bishops, which was religiously and necessarily made, might be observed by them.*

<sup>2</sup> Graviter commoti sumus ego et collegæ mei—et ideo Victor, cum contra formam nuper in concilio à Sacerdotibus datum, Geminium Faustinum Presbyterum ausus sit tutorem constitutere, non est quod pro dormitione ejus apud vos fiat oblatio, aut deprecatione aliqua nomine ejus in Ecclesiæ frequentetur, ut Sacerdotum decretum religiose et necessariè factum servetur à nobis. *Ibidem*, §. 1, 2. p. 195.

To these two Instances we may add that of *Martialis* and *Basilides*, two *Spanish* Bishops, who for their falling into Idolatry in times of Persecution, were deprived of their Ecclesiastical Functions, and adjudged never more to be admitted to the Churches Communion in any other Quality than that of Laymen, which rigorous Sentence an *African* Synod defends, <sup>3</sup> *from the Authority of a General Council, who had*

<sup>3</sup> Maxime cum jampridem decretum est ejusmodi homines ad pœnitentiam quidem agendam posse admitti, ab ordinatione

autem cleri atque sacerdotali honore prohiberi. *Apud Cypr. Epist.* 68. §. 8. p. 202.

*before decreed, that such Men should only be admitted to Repentance, but be for ever excluded from all Clerical and Sacerdotal Dignities.*

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## CHAPTER IX.

§. 1. *Of the Unity of the Church, of Schism, defined to be a Breach of that Unity. The Unity of the Church, and consequently the Breach of it to be differently understood, according to the various Significations of the Word Church.* §. 2. *The Unity of the Church Universal considered Negatively and Positively; Negatively, it consisted not in an Uniformity of Rites, nor in an Unanimity of Consent to the non-essential Points of Christianity. The Rigid Imposers thereof condemned as Cruel and Tyrannical.* §. 3. *Positively, it consisted in an harmonious Assent to the Essential Articles of Faith. The Non-agreement therein called Schism, but not the Schism of the Ancients.* §. 4. *How the Unity of a Church Collective was broken; this neither the Schism of the Ancients.* §. 5. *The Unity of a particular Church consisted in two things, in the Members Love and Amity each towards other, and in the Peoples close adherence to their Bishop, or Parish Church: The Breach of the former sometimes called Schism.* §. 6. *The Breach of the latter, which was a causeless Separation from their Bishop, the Schism of the Ancients. In how many Cases it was lawful for the People to separate from their Bishop.* §. 7. *A Separation under any other Pretence whatsoever, was that which the Fathers generally and principally meant by Schism, proved so to have been.* §. 8. *Farther proved from Ignatius.* §. 9. *Exemplified in the Schism of Felicissimus and Novatian.* §. 10. *An Objection answered touching the Schism of Novatian. How the Schism of one particular Church affected other Churches.* §. 11. *A Summary and Conclusion of this Discourse concerning Schism.*

§. 1. HAVING in the precedent Chapters discoursed of the Constitution and Discipline of the Primitive Church,

I come now in this to treat of the Unity thereof, which I had a very great Inclination to search into, since by the due understanding thereof we shall the better apprehend the Notion of the Ancients concerning Schism, because that <sup>1</sup> Schism is nothing else but a Breach of that Unity, as will most evidently appear from the Quotations that we shall be forced to make use of in this Chapter.

Now that we may know what the Breach of the Unity of the Church was, it is absolutely necessary first to know what the Unity its self was; for till we understand its Unity, it is impossible that we should understand the Breach thereof.

<sup>1</sup> Our Enquirer proceeds next to consider the *unity* of the Church, in order to clear up the sense of antiquity on the important point of *schism*, which is here rightly defined, *a breach of that unity*.

This Enquiry might be short; but, as the case is stated for us, we have three or four sorts of *unities* to inquire into, instead of one. *Church unity* (says he) *is to be differently understood according to the different acceptations of the word Church*; that is, (as he

<sup>1</sup> Enq. ch. 9. §. 2.

explains himself) *there is one sort of unity peculiar to the*

<sup>1</sup> *Catholic or universal Church;*

<sup>2</sup> *another to a Church* <sup>2</sup> *collective;*

<sup>3</sup> *a third (we may say) to a* <sup>3</sup> *pro-*

*vincial Church; and a fourth*

<sup>4</sup> *kind of unity belonging to a*

<sup>4</sup> *particular diocesan or parochial*

*Church.*

These notions of *Church unity* are not primitive, but his own. *Unity* and *schism*, whenever the ancients had occasion to speak of them, are represented in uniform terms, and every where alike. *A parochial, a diocesan, a provincial, a total or a partial schismatic*, is language very foreign from any we meet with in the Fathers of the primitive Church; and consequently such kinds of *unity* are so too.

Now for the distinct apprehending hereof, we must remember the various Acceptations of the Word Church, as they are related in the beginning of this Treatise, and according to the different Significations thereof, so must its Unity be diversified, or be differently understood; and according to the different manner of its Unity, so must we apprehend the Breach thereof.

§. 2. If in the first place we reflect upon the Word *Church*, as signifying the Church Universal, or all those, who throughout the whole Earth profess Faith in Christ, then we may consider its Unity in this Sense either Negatively, wherein it did not consist; or Positively, wherein it did consist.

¶ Negatively, It consisted not in an Uniformity of Rites and Customs; for every particular Church was at liberty

*¶ Negatively considered*, (says our Enquirer,) the unity of the Church universal *did not consist in an uniformity of rites or customs*. This proposition is so far true, that the Catholic Church did not enjoin *particular rites and customs* to all particular Churches; nor, on the other hand, did particular Churches impose their own rites and customs upon one another. I see no reason, therefore, why the unity of the Catholic Church, and that of particular Churches, should be distinguished upon this *negative* account. No doubt, each particular Church might lawfully impose indifferent rites and customs upon its own members; and if it could lawfully impose them, then it might lawfully censure such as would not comply with them; for contumacy or opposition to the lawful orders of their own Church, was a just cause of censure, as St. *Cyprian* writes, and the

*s* Enquirer himself admits. Now *s* See Enq. ch. 7. §. 4.  
to such as were justly censured

by their own Church, the laws of the Catholic Church denied communion in any part of her; so that a contentious member of any particular Church might find himself wholly cast out of the Catholic Church, though it were for mere nonconformity to indifferent rites and customs in his own. This indefinite negative,

to follow its own proper Usages: One Church was not obliged to observe the Rites of another, but every one followed its own peculiar Customs. Thus with respect to their Fast before *Easter*, there was a great Diversity in the

<sup>4</sup> Οι μὲν γὰρ ὅμοια μίαν ἡμέραν δεῖν ἀντούσις υποτεύειν, οἱ δὲ δύο, οἱ δὲ καὶ πλείονας, οἱ δὲ τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας ἡμεριὰς τε καὶ νυκτεριὰς συμμέτροῦσι τὴν ἡμέραν ἀντων πάντες οὗτοι εἰρήνευσαν ἡ διαφωνία της υποτείας τὴν ὀμόνοιαν της πίστεως συνίστησι. Iren. apud Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 24. p. 193.

Observation of it, <sup>4</sup> in some Churches they fasted one Day, in others two, in some more, and in others forty Hours, but yet still they retained Peace and Concord, the diversity of their Customs commanding the Unity of their Faith. So also the Feast of *Easter* its self was variously celebrated.

The *Asiatick* Churches kept it

<sup>5</sup> Εἰρήνευον καὶ οὐδέποτε διὰ τὸ εἰδος τοῦτο ἀπεβλήθησαν τινες. Idem Ibidem.

<sup>6</sup> In plurimis provinciis multa pro locorum et nominum diversitate variantur, nec tamen propter hoc ab Ecclesiæ Catholice pace atque unitate aliquando discessum est. *Apud Cypr. Epist. 75. §. 5. p. 237.*

it on a distinct Day from the Europeans, but yet still they retained <sup>5</sup> Peace and Love, and for the diversity of such Customs, none were ever cast out of the Communion of the Church. So likewise writes Firmilian, <sup>6</sup> That in most Provinces their Rites were varied according to the Diversities of Names and Places, and that for this no one ever departed

from the Peace and Unity of the Catholick Church. So that the Unity of the Church Universal consisted not in an Uniformity of Rites and Usages.

Neither in the next Place did it consist in an Unanimity therefore, does not, I think, hold good, that the unity of the Catholic Church in no wise consisted in an uniformity of rites and customs, since it was liable to be lost for want of it. See Appendix, No. 16.

Waving the undefined term of *non-essentials*, I may justly re-

of Consent to the Non-essential Points of Christianity, but every one was left to believe in those lesser matters, as God should inform him. <sup>w</sup> Therefore *Justin Martyr* speaking of those *Jewish Converts*, who had adhered to the Mosaical Rites, says, that if they did this only through their Weakness and Imbecillity, and did not perswade other Christians to the observance of the same Judaical Customs, that <sup>7</sup> *he would receive them into Church-fellowship and Communion.*

<sup>7</sup> Προσλαμβάνεσθαι καὶ κοινωνεῖν ἀπάντων ὡς ὁμοσπλάγχνοις καὶ ἀδελφοῖς δεῖν. *Dialog. cum Tryphon.* p. 266.

mark here, as before, that though the Catholic Church enjoined them not, yet where any of them were decided one way or the other, and enjoined to be received by authority either of a particular or provincial Church; if any member of such Church or Churches should break communion, and be censured on that account, the Catholic Church would no more receive such a person, than she would the former. I will put the case in the very instance which the *Enquirer*<sup>6</sup>

gives us of non-essential points. <sup>6</sup> *Enq. ch. 9. §. 2.*

St. *Cyprian*, and the *African*

Bishops of his province, decreed that heretical baptism should not be valid *amongst them*. This decree was binding on the whole province; (as the <sup>7</sup> *Enquirer* himself admits;) and if binding, <sup>7</sup> *Enq. ch. 8. §. 9.*

then such as would act contrary

to it, were justly liable to censure. Now, I ask, would the Catholic Church receive into communion any such member, which either St. *Cyprian*, or any Bishop in his province, should have censured for not observing that decree of theirs, though the point itself is here acknowledged to be non-essential? By the laws of the Catholic Church, we know they could not. So that in this particular also, the general *negative* does not seem to hold.

<sup>w</sup> *Justin Martyr* (says the *Enquirer*) *would receive the Jewish converts who adhered to the Mosaical rites into Church fellowship*



\* Whosoever imposed on particular Churches, the observance of the former of these two things, or in particular

*and communion with him, if they did it only through weakness, and did not persuade others to it; therefore every one was left to believe in those lesser (non-essential) matters, as God should inform them.* Now if *every one* were so left to God and himself, then why not the *Gentile* converts as well as the Jews in this particular instance? And yet St. *Paul* tells them, (Gal. v. 2) that *if they should be circumcised, Christ would profit them nothing.* Nor did *Justin* himself allow them that liberty. The observance of the *Mosaical* rites, therefore, was either not considered a non-essential point, or else the Church did not allow *every one* to believe in those matters as he thought fit; and consequently this instance, so far from proving the proposition before us, rather proves the contrary. Besides, most men are sensible, I believe, that *Justin Martyr*, in

<sup>8</sup> Ἀποστόλῳ Μαθητή. Ep. ad Diognet. prope finem.

<sup>9</sup> Ἀπὸ Φλαούιας νίας πόλεως τῆς Συρίας τῆς Παλαιστίνης. Apol. secunda ad init.

the early<sup>8</sup> age, and<sup>9</sup> peculiar country in which he lived, was not swayed by his own private judgment in that extraordinary case, but had a fair plea of the opinion and practice of the highest authority in the Church

for what he did. And this I

take to be the only true warrant for determining any difficult point to be non-essential: for if every one might determine it for himself, it is hard to conceive how the Church of God should secure the fundamentals themselves committed to her trust.

\* This inference seems well calculated for the Enquirer's own singular notion of a primitive *particular Church*; and not so much to inform us, (what the instance here adduced serves to shew,) *viz.* that a Church in the West could not impose customs on a Church in the East (which no one, I believe, would dispute) as that no Bishop of any Church whatever, from East to West, could impose their rites and customs on more *congregations* than one, because, in our Author's opinion, every congregation was a particular Church, and always should be so. Since this *ingenious in-*

Persons the belief of the latter, they were esteemed not as Preservers and Maintainers, but as Violators and Breakers of the Churches Unity and Concord.

An Instance of the former we have in that Controversie between the Churches of the East and West, touching the time when *Easter* was to be celebrated. For when *Victor* Bishop of *Rome* had Excommunicated the Eastern Churches, because they continued to observe that Feast on a different time from the Churches of the West, not only the Bishops of the adverse Party, but even those of his own side condemned him as rash, heady, and turbulent, and writ several Letters about this Affair, wherein as the Historian <sup>8</sup> Πληκτικώτερον καθάπτομένων. writes, <sup>8</sup> *they most sharply* Euseb. lib. 5. c. 24. p. 193. *censured him.*

As for the Latter, we have an instance thereof in the Controversie that was between *Stephen* Bishop of *Rome*,

*nuerdo* supposes, that he has clearly proved the primitive dioceses to have been no more than mere congregational Churches; or that, if they had consisted of more, they could not have been truly Catholic or Apostolical Churches, (which he has not so much as attempted to prove,) I shall leave the reader to form his own judgment of the arguments which our Author has advanced in support of his opinion, and to censure (if it seem fit) all the celebrated Bishops of the three first centuries, and ages immediately following; who, no doubt, will be admitted to have presided over Churches of more congregations than one, and consequently to have enjoined the same rites and customs to be observed in all.

Our Enquirer's inference from his latter negative definition of Catholic unity is certainly extraordinary. *Whosoever* (says he) *should impose the belief of non-essential points upon particular persons, were in like manner esteemed as violators of the Church's unity and concord. For thus Stephen, Bishop of Rome, was condemned by other Bishops, for anathematizing Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, because he held the baptism of heretics to be*

and *Cyprian* Bishop of *Carthage*, touching the Validity of Hereticks Baptism: For when *Stephen* Anathematized *Cyprian*, because he held the Baptism of Hereticks to be null and void, other Bishops condemned *Stephen* as a Breaker and Disturber of the Churches Peace. And amongst others, *Firmilian* a *Cappadocian* Bishop, vehemently accuses him as such, because that he would impose upon others the Belief of such a disputable Point, which, says

*null and void*. In this inference, it may be observed, the words *whosoever* and *particular persons* are at first named indefinitely, and in general terms; but in the instance given for the proof of it, they are explained by the Bishop of one Church imposing his non-essentials on the Bishop of another. Now, if the instance explains the full meaning of the Author, (as it ought to do), then the inference is just, and the imposer deserves all the hard words of *cruelty*, *tyranny*, and the like, which the Enquirer fixes upon him; because the one Bishop had no manner of jurisdiction over the other, and because the Bishop of a Church is not looked upon in a private capacity as *other particular persons* are, especially when a foreign Bishop attempts to impose upon him a point of doctrine, which is otherwise determined in his own Church. In such a case St. *Cyprian's* maxim is peculiarly applicable, *the Church is in the Bishop, and the Bishop in the Church*: at least it was notoriously so, in the case between *Stephen* and St. *Cyprian*;

<sup>1</sup> Stephanus non tantum sententiam suam adversus Cypri-  
num et Synodum Africanam etiam iteratam protulit, sed et ipsum et Episcopos contraria sentientes, abstinentes esse putavit, ut tum Cyprianus tum Augustinus disertis verbis testantur. *Annal. Cypr.* ad A.D. 256. §. 3.

for *Stephen's* controversy was not with <sup>1</sup> the *person* of St. *Cyprian* only (as it is here made to be) but with his *whole diocese*, (nay his *province*) insomuch that he proceeded to censure all alike, for not receiving that non-essential point in dispute between them, as he and his Bishops had decreed at *Rome*. This was *tyranny* with a witness, and if the Enquirer had meant no other-

he, was never wonted to be done, but <sup>9</sup> *every Church followed their own different ways, and never therefore broke the Unity and Peace of the Catholick Church, which now, saith he, Stephen dares to do, and breaks that Peace which the ancient Bishops always preserved in mutual Love and Honour.*

the Acts of that great Council of *Carthage* convened to determine this matter, that when *Cyprian* summ'd up the

<sup>9</sup> *Multa pro locorum et nominum diversitate variantur, nec tamen propter hoc ab Ecclesiæ Catholice pace atque unitate aliquando discessum est. Quod nunc Stephanus ausus est facere, rumpens adversum vos pacem, quam semper antecessores ejus vobiscum amore et honore mutuo custodierunt.*

And therefore we find in

wise than this, (and his quotations and instance prove no more,) it had been but fair to specify his *whosoever*, and his *particular persons*, with some note of restriction upon them; but he has left the terms at large, that the inference might still remain an universal proportion, though the proof of it was in a particular and singular case only. He would have us think, that the Bishop's freedom in non-essentials was liable to no sort of check or control, either from abroad or at home; insomuch that if a Synod of Bishops in any province of the Christian Church should pass any canon relating to a non-essential point, though for the better security of some fundamental doctrine, (as both the *African* and *European* Bishops plainly did in that case of which we have been speaking,) and should require the subjects in their respective jurisdictions to consent to it; (as those Bishops on one side and the other certainly did;) they must be censured as schismatical violators of the concord of the Church, according to the inference drawn by the learned Author from his negative definition of unity in the Church universal. And yet we are fully assured, that the universal Church peaceably allowed all those celebrated Churches to use that liberty within themselves, and none but the Bishop of *Rome* (against whom all Christian Churches besides exclaimed for his intolerance) ever thought the sacred unity of the Church was violated by it.

Debates thereof, he dehorts his Fellow-Bishops from the imposing Humour and Temper of *Stephen*,<sup>1</sup> *It now remains*, saith he, *that every one of us declare our Judgments concerning this matter, judging no Man, or removing any one from our Communion, if he think otherwise than we do; for let none of us make himself a Bishop of Bishops, or by a Tyrannical Terror, compel his Colleagues to the necessity of Obeying.* So

<sup>1</sup> *Superest ut de hac ipsa res singuli quid sentiamus, proferamus, neminem judicantes, aut à jure communionis aliquem, si diversum senserit amoventes. Neque enim quisquam nostrum Episcopum se esse Episcoporum constituit, aut tyrannico terrore ad obsequendi necessitatem collegas suos adigit.* *Concil. Carthag. apud Cypr.* p. 443.

that the forcing a Belief in these lesser matters was Cruelty and Tyranny in the Imposers thereof, who for such unreasonable Practices were look'd upon as Enemies to, and Violators of the Churches Concord, being the true Schismatics, inasmuch as they were the Cause of Schism and Division; unto whom therefore may be applyed that

<sup>2</sup> It is too evident, with what partiality to his own opinion, the Enquirer applies *Irenæus's* censure of *all* inexcusable schismatics in his time to the single persons of *imposers only*, as he is pleased to call them; i. e. to all Ecclesiastical authority whatsoever, which should determine anything in *those difficult points which no way wound the essentials of religion*, let their considerations of unity, peace, or order in it, be what they may. But I shall leave *Irenæus's* own words with the reader, that he may judge how biassed the Author's mind must be, to apply such general language to any special sense which he has first prepared for it, and for which the holy Father himself gives no manner of occasion. The <sup>2</sup>*spiritual man* (says he) *will judge, or discern those who make schisms, who are inhuman, not having the love of God, but pre-*

<sup>2</sup> *Discipulus vere spiritualis recipiens Spiritum Dei—judicabit eos qui schismata operantur, qui*

Saying of *Irenæus*, <sup>2</sup> That at the last Day Christ shall judge those who cause Schisms, who are inhumane,

<sup>2</sup> Judicabit eos qui Schismata operantur, qui sunt immanes, non habentes Dei dilectionem,

ferring their own advantage before the unity of the Church, &c.

sunt immanes, &c. *Iren.* 1. 4, cap. 53 & 62.

Here is indeed a fearful character of schismatics, as every one must see; but the *Enquirer* thinks he sees more: he discerns a *special* kind of schismatics, to whom he frankly applies it all; and those are *imposers* of non-essentials, be their authority what it may, or the articles they decree never so innocent or useful in their kind. In such cases, all inferior members of a Church, according to his construction of the passage, may be left at liberty to disturb the peace, and rend the unity of the Church for mere non-essential points, and all the while be innocent and blameless; for the whole guilt is removed from them, and placed where it cannot touch them. But what is there in *Irenæus*'s words which looks that way? They make no distinction of persons from one end to the other; nor exempt any from the common guilt of the same unnatural schism, where the cause of controversy and division is the same, i. e. for slight or non-essential matters: and we can hardly think that *Irenæus* himself, who held the highest station in the Church, should mean to clear all *other* members of it, besides himself or such as he was, and have them free to rend the *great and glorious body of Christ*, for such trivial matters as he was speaking of. Had his first words been fairly translated, there could have been no umbrage for such a construction. The schismatics whom he censures, are, in his own express terms, such as <sup>3</sup> actually make or form a schism, upon some unimportant occasion or other, and not such as should more remotely *cause*, or occasion, such a schism to be made, as the *Enquirer* has rendered the words; and, by that slight term alone, has made them plausibly countenance his own peculiar application.

<sup>3</sup> Qui schismata operantur.

suamque utilitatem potius considerantes, quam unitatem Ecclesiæ, propter modicas et quaslibet causas magnum et gloriosum corpus Christi con vindunt et dividunt, et quantum in ipsis est, interficiunt, pacem loquentes et bellum operantes, verè liquantes culicem et camelum transglutientes. *Lib. 4. cap. 62. p. 292.*

*not having the fear of God, but preferring their own advantage before the Unity of the Church, for trivial and slight Causes rent and divide the great and glorious Body of Christ, and as much as in them lies, destroy it; who speak Peace, but wage War, truly straining at a Gnat, and swallowing a Camel.*

§. 3. <sup>a</sup> But Positively, The Unity of the Church Uni-

I must take leave to differ in one particular more from the learned Enquirer, in translating the first sentence of the quotation now before us. He renders it thus, *that at the last day Christ shall judge those who cause the schisms*, there spoken of. *Irenæus's* sense I conceive to be this; that *the spiritual man will judge* (or discern) *those who actually make such schisms*, &c. The holy Father, for nine or ten short chapters together, is speaking, in one continued discourse, of this particular judge, who should try and discern all sorts of adversaries to the truth. In the fifty-third chapter, where he begins the subject, he expresses by name the *spiritual disciple, who should so discern and judge all, and himself be judged of no man*, (according to *1 Cor. ii. 15.*) In the sixty-second chapter, where, in the words of the quotation before us, he speaks of judging *schismatics* among the rest, he closes the whole discourse with repeating that clause, *but he himself will be judged or discerned by no man*; which makes it plain, that the *spiritual man* was the judge spoken of, from one end to the other, and therefore I have translated it so accordingly. Some little attention seems to have been wanting here, both as to the context and application of *Irenæus's* words; but take them in what sense we please, they are an evident instance of the awful sense which the first and best of Christians had of the sin of *schism*.

<sup>a</sup> *The unity of the Church universal (says the Enquirer) positively consisted in an harmonious assent to the essential articles of*

versal consisted in an Harmonious Assent to the Essential Articles of Religion, or in an Unanimous Agreement in the Fundamentals of Faith and Doctrine. Thus *Irenæus* having recited a Creed, or a short Summary of the

*religion, or in an unanimous agreement in the fundamentals of faith and doctrine.* This is true, but whether the *whole* truth, is not so clear.

The unity of the Catholic Church was liable to be broken in two ways, by *heresy* and by *schism*. <sup>4</sup>The Enquirer tells us from St. *Cyprian*, that the Devil found out heresies and schisms to divide the unity. Now, in opposition to heresies, the unity,

<sup>4</sup> Enq. ch. 9. §. 3. Diabolus hæreses invenit et schismata, quibus scinderet unitatem. *Cyp.* de *Unit.* *Eccl.* §. 2.

no doubt, consisted in an unanimous agreement in fundamentals of faith and doctrine. And this *Irenæus* particularly meant in the passage here adduced, and as indeed the subject of his whole book, directly written against heretics, clearly implies. But does our learned Author's definition tell us wherein the unity of the universal Church consisted, in opposition to schism also? If the *unity of the Episcopacy* be admitted for one of his *fundamentals*, I need not raise any farther question about it; but if he exclude that (as his manner of explaining it, and his different use of it afterwards, give us great reason to suppose he does) I must take leave to say, his *positive definition* is imperfect, and appeal to the primitive Fathers themselves, whether the *unity of the Episcopacy* was not absolutely essential to the unity of the Catholic Church.

St. *Cyprian*, exemplifying the unity of the Church in those words of St. *Paul*, (<sup>5</sup>one body and one spirit, one hope of your calling, one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God;) adds as parallel to the rest; *Let no man deceive the brethren with a lie, let no man corrupt the truth of our faith with any treacherous*

<sup>5</sup> Unum corpus, et unus spiritus, una spes vocationis vestræ, unus Dominus, una fides, unum baptisma, unus Deus.—Nemo fraternitatem mendacio fallat, nemō fidei veritatem perfidâ prævaricatione corrumpat: Epis-

<sup>3</sup> Hanc igitur prædicationem et hanc fidem adepta Ecclesia, quamvis dispersa in universo mundo diligenter conservat, acci si in una eademque domo habitaret: Ac similiter iis fidem habet, acsi unam animam unumque et idem cor haberet: atque uno consensu hæc prædicat, docet ac tradit, acsi uno ore prædicta esset. Quamvis enim dissimilia sint in mundo genera linguarum, una tamen eademque est vis traditionis; nec quæ constitutæ sunt in Germania Ecclesiæ aliter credunt aut tradunt, nec quæ in Hispaniis, neque in Galliis, neque in Oriente, neque in Ægypto, neque in Lybia, aut in medio orbis terrarum fundatæ sunt. Sed quemadmodum Sol creatura Dei unus et idem est in universo mundo, ita et prædicatio veritatis ubique lucet, et illuminat omnes homines qui ad notionem veritatis venire volunt. *Lib. 1. cap. 3. p. 36.*

copatus est unus. Cujus à singulis in solidum pars tenetur. *Cyp. de Unit. Eccl. §. 4. p. 108. Edit. Oxon.*

*universal Church* which he so affirmed to be but one, is evident by what he immediately says of it, *that each Bishop held no more than a part of it*, though he were interested for the whole.

Christian Faith, not much unlike to the Apostles Creed, immediately adds, <sup>3</sup> *The Church having received this Faith and Doctrine, although dispersed through the whole World, diligently preserves it, as tho' she inhabited but one House, and accordingly she believes these things, as tho' she had but one Soul and one Heart, and consonantly preaches and teaches these things, as tho' she had but one Mouth; for altho' there are various Languages in the World, yet the Doctrine is one and the same; so that the Churches in Germany, France, Asia, Ægypt or Lybia, have not a different Faith; but as the Sun is one and the same to all the Creatures of God in the whole World: So the Preaching of the Word is a Light that enlightens every where, and illuminates all*

*prevarication; the Episcopacy is one.* He makes it a treacherous corruption of the truth of the faith to deny that. And that it was the Episcopacy of the

*Men that would come to the Knowledge of the Truth.* Now this Bond of Unity was broken, when there was a Recession from, or a Corruption of the true Faith and Doctrine, as *Irenæus* speaks concerning *Tatian* the Father of the *Encratites*, that as long as his Master *Justin Martyr* lived, he held the sound Faith, but after his Death, *'falling off from the Church,* he shaped that new Form of Doctrine. This Unity of the Church in Doctrine, according to *Hegesippus*, continued till the Days of *Simeon Cleopas* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, who was Martyred under *Trajan*; but after that false Teachers prevailed, such as the *Simonians*, *Marcionists*, *Valentinians*, and others, <sup>5</sup> from whom sprung *false Christs*, *false Apostles*, and *false Prophets*, who by their corrupt Doctrines against God and his Christ, divided the Unity of the Church. So that the Unity of the Church

Universal consisted in an agreement of Doctrine, and the Corruption of that Doctrine was a Breach of that Unity, and whoever so broke it, are said to divide and separate the Unity of the Church, or which is all one, to be Schismatics. So *Irenæus* writes, that those that introduced new Doctrines, <sup>6</sup> did divide and separate the Unity of the Church. And *Cyprian* writes that <sup>7</sup> the Devil found out Heresies and Schisms, by which he might subvert the Faith, corrupt the Truth, and divide the Unity. But now for Distinctions sake, the Breach of this Unity was commonly

<sup>4</sup> Ἀποστὰς τῆς ἐκκλησίας. Apud Euseb. lib. 4. cap. 29. p. 150.

<sup>5</sup> Απὸ τούτων Φευδόχειστοι, Φευδορροφῆται, Φευδαπόστολοι, ὅτινες ἐμέρισαν τὴν ἔνωσιν τῆς ἐκκλησίας φθόγμοις λογοις κατὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀντοῦ. Apud Euseb. lib. 4. cap. 22. p. 143.

<sup>6</sup> Scindunt et separant unitatem Ecclesiæ. Lib. 4. cap. 43. p. 278.

<sup>7</sup> Diabolus Hæreses invenit et Schismata, quibus subverteret fidem, veritatem corrumperet, scinderet unitatem. *De unitate Ecclesia* §. 2. p. 296.

called Heresie, and the Word Schism generally applied to the Breach of the Churches Unity in another sense, of which more in the other Sections.

§. 4. If in the next Place we consider the Word Church collectively, as denoting a Collection of many particular

<sup>a</sup> In provincia Africa et Numidia Ecclesiam Domini. *Epist.* 71. §. 4. p. 214.

Churches, in which Sense it is once used in <sup>b</sup> *Cyprian.*

Then its Unity may have consisted in a Brotherly

correspondence with, and affection towards each other, which they demonstrated by all outward Expressions of Love and Concord, as by receiving to Communion the

<sup>b</sup> *The unity of a Church collective (says the Enquirer) may have consisted in a brotherly correspondence with, and affection towards each other, which they demonstrated by all outward expressions of love and concord; as by receiving into communion the members of each other, mutually advising and assisting one another by letters or otherwise; and other marks of love and concord.* On the other

hand, he <sup>6</sup> tells us, *the relation between each particular Church and the universal Church* (in

<sup>6</sup> See Enq. ch. 8. §. 2.

general) was this, *that as one member of the natural body has a regard to all the other members thereof, so a particular Church had to every member of the Church universal. The Bishops employed a general kind of inspection over all other Churches besides their own, observing their condition, and giving them an account of their own; and sent to one another for advice and decision in difficult points. In these, and in many other such like cases, there was a correspondence between the particular Churches of the Universal.* Now where the difference between the unity of a Church *collective*, and that of the Church *universal*, lies in this account, I must leave the reader to judge; for myself, I confess I can discover none. In respect of schism at least, for the sake of which this singular diversity was contrived, the several kinds of unities proposed all centre in that one individual unity, which all antiquity attributed to the Catholic Church of Christ. See Appendix, No. 17.

Members of each other, as <sup>9</sup> *Apud Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 24.*

<sup>9</sup> *Irenæus* mentions, was ob- p. 193.  
serv'd between the Churches

of *Rome* and *Asia*, in mutually advising and assisting one another by Letters, or otherwise, of which there are frequent Instances in the Ancients, and especially in *Cyprian's* Epistles, and in manifesting all other Marks and Tokens of their Love and Concord. Now this Unity was broken, when Particular Churches clashed with each other, when from being possess'd with Spirits of Meekness, Love and Charity, they were inflamed with Hatred, Rage and Fury against each other. A sad Instance whereof we have in that Controversie betwixt *Cyprian* and *Stephen*, or rather between the Churches of *Europe* and *Africa*, touching the Validity of Heretical Baptism, wherein those good Men were so far transported with Bitterness and Rancour against each other, that they interchangeably gave such harsh Language and invidious Epithets, as are too odious to name, which if the Reader be curious to know, he may find too much of it in *Cyprian's* Epistles.

Or if several particular Churches had for the promotion of Peace, Unity and Order, regularly disposed themselves into a Synodical Government and Discipline, as was always done when their Circumstances and Conveniencies would permit them; then whoever broke or violated their reasonable Canons, were censured as turbulent and factious, as it hath been evidenced in the former Chapter, and needs no farther Proof in this, because that the Schism of the Ancients was not a Breach of the Churches Unity in this Sense, *viz.* as denoting or signifying a Church Collective.

§. 5. But Schism principally and originally respected a particular Church or Parish, tho' it might consequentially influence others too. Now the Unity of a particular Church consisted in the Members Love and Amity toward each other, and in their due Subjection or Subordination

to their Pastor or Bishop: Accordingly the Breach of that Unity consisted in these two things, either in a Hatred and Malice of each other, or in a Rebellion against their Lawful Pastor, or which is all one, in a causeless Separation from their Bishop, and those that adhered to him.

As for the first of these, there might be Envies and Discords between the Inhabitants of a Parish, without a formal Separation from Communion, which Jars and Feuds were called Schism; an Instance whereof we find in the Church of *Corinth*, unto whom St. *Paul* objected in 1 Cor. 11. 18. *When ye come together in the Church, I hear that there be Divisions*, or as it is in the Original, *σχίσματα, Schisms amongst you.* Here there was no separate Communion, for they all came together in the Church, and yet there were Schisms amongst them, that is, Strifes, Quarrels and Discords. And as far as I can perceive from the Epistle of *Clemens Romanus*, which was writ to appease another Schism in the same Church of *Corinth*, there were then only Turmoils and Differences, without any actual Separation. But on this I shall not enlarge, because it is not what the Ancients ordinary meant by Schism.

§. 6. • But that which they generally and commonly termed Schism, was a Rebellion against, or an ungrounded

• *Schism* (as our learned Author has defined it) was a *causeless separation from their lawful Pastor.* This gave him occasion to inquire, what causes could justify such a *separation*, and what not; an inquiry proper on all sides, whether the schism were *particular* only, or an *universal* one, since schism was a certain and immediate effect of it.

• *Separation*, if it be meant here according to the point in question, must imply not a bare abstaining from communion with the lawful Pastor, but setting up another also in his stead; for otherwise a formal schism was not yet made. This distinction I briefly hint to the reader, because, though the question itself necessarily supposes this *setting up of altar against altar*, as well as *forbear-*

and causeless Separation from their Lawful Pastor, or their Parish Church. Now because I say, that a causeless Separation from their Bishop was Schism, it will be necessary to know how many Causes could justifie the Peoples *ing to communicate*; yet in the proofs and precedents offered for it, and in the inference drawn from them <sup>7</sup> at the last, it will <sup>7</sup> Enq. ch. 9. §. 7. be found that these things are

promiscuously used without this due distinction. It is evident by the whole economy and principles of the primitive Church, that causes might be given for not joining in communion with a Pastor, through some fundamental corruption, as for instance, in the very service of his Church; and yet that the same persons, who leave him for it, may not be authorized to deprive that Pastor, or to substitute another in his place. The necessary requisites for *deposing* or *constituting* Bishops in the primitive times (as we have seen <sup>8</sup> before) is sufficient proof

of this: and the learned En-  
quier, in the close of this very

<sup>8</sup> Enq. ch. 3. & 6. supra.

head, <sup>9</sup> declares, that *it was*

<sup>9</sup> Enq. ch. 9. §. 6.

*avouched by all, that Synods did depose all those Bishops that were guilty of criminal or scandalous enormities.* He owned also <sup>1</sup> before, that the Bishops

<sup>1</sup> Enq. ch. 3. §. 4. & 5.

of the province were, at least, to be called in, and their consent to be obtained, before any Bishop of the primitive Church could be legally instituted (as he calls it) or settled in his place. From these considerations of confessed matter of fact, it follows, that the people's part in any separation (be the occasion never so justifiable) could amount to no more than a bare abstaining from communion, till a *regular authority* should depose their criminal Pastor, and provide another for them.

If we bear these premises in mind, whilst we examine all which our learned Author advances upon the subject, we shall find it comes to just the same thing, whatever more might be intended by it.

Desertion of their Pastor, and these I think were two, or at most three; <sup>4</sup> the first was Apostacy from the Faith, or when a Bishop renounced the Christian Faith, and through fear of Persecution embraced the Heathenish Idolatries,

<sup>d</sup> *The justifiable causes* (says the Enquirer) *for such a separation, I think, were two, or at the most three.* 1st. *Apostacy from the faith.* 2ndly. *Heresy.* And 3rdly. *A scandalous and wicked life.* His instance for apostacy is that of the *Spanish Bishops, Basilides and Martialis*; whose relapsing to idolatry in time of persecution was notorious. That the people should separate from them, and join in communion with others, was approved by St. *Cyprian* and his Synod, in that <sup>e</sup> Epistle to <sup>f</sup> Cyp. Ep. 68. or 67. Edit. which Cyprian refers. But how stood the case, when the *African* Council thus advised them?

and how far did the people's part go in that separation? Did the people, or any of the inferior Clergy of their Churches with them, turn their apostate Bishops out of their places, and, by their own act and deed, substitute others in their room? Nothing of the kind, if we may believe the Synod itself; according to whose representation of the matter, in the same Epistle, these idolatrous Bishops were *synodically* deposed; and others, in the *same manner*, placed in their Sees, before the people ever applied to St. *Cyprian* and his Council about communicating or not communicating with them. It was only by the unjust interposition of the Bishop of *Rome*, in favour of those idolaters after they were deposed, that they still claimed their former right; and in *that case*, the *African* Council advised and warranted the people to separate from their first idolatrous Bishops, and join communion with those who were regularly provided for them [as I have already shewn in the 6th Chapter.] Now a separation, in any case whatsoever, thus managed, is unquestionably lawful. And this is all the Enquirer proves in the first justifiable cause for it, namely, that of notorious idolatry; for what the instance or example proves, is presumed to be the substance of the argument which he grounds upon it. See Appendix, No. 18.

as was done in the Case of <sup>1</sup> *Martialis* and *Basilides* two Spanish Bishops, and was justified by an *African* Synod, as is to be seen throughout their whole Synodical Epistle, still extant amongst those of *Cyprian's*. <sup>2</sup> The second Cause was *Heresie*, as *Irenæus* saith, <sup>2</sup> *We must fly far off from all Hereticks.* And *Origen* allows the People to separate from their Bishop, <sup>3</sup> *if they could accuse him of false and Heretical Doctrine.*

<sup>2</sup> What sort of separation our Enquirer approves of, in the case of an heretical Pastor, is not so easily known from his short quotation under that head. All he says of it is, that *Irenæus* advises us to *fly far off from all heretics*; and that *Origen* allows the people to separate from their Bishop, *if they could accuse him of false and heretical doctrine*: which, no doubt, all good Christians ought to do. But this is speaking at large. If we would know the practice of the primitive Church in this matter, the case of *Paulus Samosatenus* is as clear a precedent as antiquity can afford; and evidently shews, that the separation both of Laity and inferior Clergy, from an heretical Bishop, was managed in the same manner then, as we have seen it was in the case of the idolatrous Bishops before. The proceedings against *Paul* are recorded at large by *Eusebius*, and in the synodical Letter of the Council convened against him, which that historian has in great part preserved for us. In that Epistle we read of no new altar or second Bishop set up by Presbyters, Deacons, or people, (though they were fully aware of his blasphemous notions,) till such time as the great Council solemnly deposed him, and promoted *Domnus* to his See. Nay, we find his orthodox people still present with him at the public service of the Church, (his heretical opinions

<sup>1</sup> *Basilidem et Martialem libellis Idololatriæ commaculatos—Episcopatum gerere, et Sacerdotium Dei administrare non oportere. Epist. Synod. apud Cypr. Epist. 68. §. 1. p. 200.*

<sup>2</sup> *Oportet longe fugere ab eis. Lib. 1. cap. 13. p. 63.*

<sup>3</sup> *Si habueris accusationem doctrinæ pessimæ, et alienorum ab Ecclesia Dogmatum. Homil. 7. in Ezechiel.*

<sup>f</sup> A third Cause was a scandalous and wicked Life, as is asserted by an *African Synod* held *Anno 258*. whose Ex-

<sup>3</sup> Τοῖς οὖν, ὡς ἐν οἰκῷ Θεοῦ σεμνο-  
πρεπῶς καὶ ἐντάκτως ἀκούοντιν ἐπι-  
τιμῶν καὶ ἐνβεγίζων. Euseb. Hist.  
Eccl. lib. 7. c. 30.

not having been yet introduced there), though <sup>3</sup> *they suffered reproaches from him all the while, for behaving themselves more decently and gravely than his wretched flatterers did.*

The separation in this case was managed thus: the Bishops of the several Churches of God about him, being alarmed at his heresy, provided a more faithful Pastor in a regular and authentic manner for his people, who waited for that warrantable course of being duly separated from him; trusting to the providence of God, which every Christian may safely depend upon, according to the faithful promise of our blessed Lord to be with his Church for ever.

<sup>f</sup> As to the matter of a scandalous and wicked life, the learned Enquirer himself, and the authors cited by him, are divided about the modes of separation in such a case. According to him, *an African Synod affirms*, that the *people, of their own power and authority, without the concurrent assent of other Churches, might leave and desert a scandalous Bishop; and Irenæus (he says) agrees with them in it, though Origen seems to be of another mind.* By *leaving and deserting their Bishop, of their own authority, and without the assent of other Churches*, our Enquirer evidently means a full power in them to discharge him of his pastoral care over them, and to provide another Bishop or Pastor for themselves, and that in direct opposition to *Origen's* opinion, which was, that the people ought to *wait for a synodical authority to depose their Bishop in any such case.*

Now we shall soon see (or rather we have seen already) that the *African Synod*, to which the Enquirer refers, allows no such popular liberty, of placing and displacing Pastors for themselves, in case of a *scandalous or immoral life*. He had just before cited the same Epistle of the same Synod, in the case of the *idolatrous Spanish Bishops*; who being not apostates only, but vicious and

hortations and Arguments to this purpose may be seen at large in their Synodical Epistle, still extant in *Cyprian Epist.* 68. p. 200. out of which several Passages pertinent to this Occasion, have been already cited in the Sixth Chapter of this Treatise, to which I must refer the Reader. <sup>g</sup> Of this mind also was *Irenæus* before them, who writes,

immoral men too, the Synod considered them in both respects, in their answer to the Clergy and people of their Churches, who wrote for their advice about them. As this gave occasion to the Synod severally to declare, in many passages of that Epistle, how unworthy either vicious or idolatrous Bishops were to minister at the altar of God; so it did to the Enquirer also to make a double use and application of it: whereas in respect to the people's separation from one, and joining in communion with another (which is the case here before us) the Synod's judgment was the same, as well in regard to the immorality as to the idolatry of their Bishops. In both cases it had immediate reference to the condition the people were in, and to the difficulties to which the people were forced, of having rival Bishops, on one side synodically deprived, and on the other synodically set up. The Synod's determination for them was this; that since Bishops had been regularly provided for them, and others had been justly deposed, they should separate from those who were guilty of such open idolatry and immoral lives, and join communion with those who could be charged with neither, though the *Bishop of Rome*, and some other nearer home, discouraged them from so doing. And this was the very separation the Synod had occasion to speak of, upon the Clergy and the people's application to them, and the only kind of *popular election* they maintained. Let the impartial reader turn to the synodical <sup>4</sup> Epistle itself, and judge whether he can there <sup>4</sup> Cypr. Ep. 67. Edit. Oxon. find the dispensation granted to any Churches whatever, *to desert their criminal Bishops, of their own authority, and without the assent of other Churches*, in such a sense as is here affirmed.

<sup>g</sup> *Irenæus*, says the Enquirer, was of the same mind with this

<sup>4</sup> Qui vero Presbyteri serviunt suis voluptatibus, et non præponunt timorem Dei in cordibus suis, sed contumeliis agunt reliquos, et principalis confessionis tumore elati sunt, et in absconsis agunt mala—ab omnibus talibus absistere oportet. *Lib. 4. cap. 44. p. 278.*

*African Council*; and, no doubt,

<sup>5</sup> Qui vero Presbyteri serviunt suis voluptatibus, &c.—ab omnibus talibus absistere oportet. *Iren. l. 4. c. 44. §. 1.*

question before us is, what the people are to do in case of *scandal* and *immorality* in their Bishop, his faith and principles in the mean time being sound and orthodox. But *Irenæus*, in the quotation before us, was speaking of

<sup>6</sup> Qui vero crediti quidem sunt à multis Presbyteri, &c. *Annot. Nicolaum, Cerinthum, Ebionem, et id genus Hæresiarchas hic atro carbone notari existimo.*  
*Ad Iren. ubi supra.*

<sup>7</sup> *Qui vero crediti quidem sunt à multis Presbyteri.*

*thought by many to be so*; which character of them the Enquirer was pleased to leave out. 2ndly. Because *Irenæus* introduces what he says of them, with plain terms of distinction from the Presbyters of whom he was speaking before, who were

<sup>8</sup> *Eis qui in Ecclesiâ sunt Pres-*

<sup>4</sup> *That as for those Presbyters, who serve their Pleasures, and have not the Fear of God before their Eyes, who contumeliously use others, are lifted up with Pride, and secretly commit wickedness, from all such*

he was, but not in the sense here intended. <sup>5</sup>The passage quoted from that Father neither implies so much, nor is directly applicable to the point in hand, if the learned commentator upon it understood it aright. The

<sup>6</sup>*most vicious heretics of those times, such as Nicolas, the Deacon, Cerinthus, Ebion, and the like.* This alters the case, and many circumstances would persuade any reader that *Irenæus* meant so. 1st. Because he does not name the Presbyters he was there speaking of, as *genuine Presbyters* of the Church, but <sup>7</sup>*such as were*

<sup>8</sup>*such as had succession from the Apostles, and with that suc-*

*Presbyters we ought to separate.* *Origen* indeed seems to be of another mind, and thinks that the Bishops Immorality in Life could not justifie his Parishes Separation, <sup>5</sup> *He, saith he, that hath a care of his Soul, will not be scandalized at my Faults, who am his Bishop, but considering my Doctrine, and finding it*

<sup>5</sup> *Qui curam habet vitæ suæ, non meis delictis qui videor in Ecclesia prædicare scandalizabitur, sed ipsum dogma considerans, et pertractans Ecclesiæ*

*cession the certain gift of truth, according to the good pleasure of the Father, (as the context shews.)* And 3rdly. Because in the quotation itself, where he advises all Christians *to abstain from them*, he exhorts them again, by way of distinction, <sup>9</sup> *to keep close to those who (as he told them before) preserved the doctrine of the Apostles:* pretty plain signs, one would think, that he was speaking of heretics, as well as vicious men, though the same persons still.

And yet, after all, be it of one or the other, or of both, he says no more to our present case, than that *we should abstain from them;* which does not at all determine, how the Church of God in general should be freed from such wretched Presbyters, or how any particular people should be provided with a more worthy Pastor. Having taught his reader just before what sort of Apostolical successors all Christians were obliged to cleave to, *Irenæus* leaves him to the warrantable rules and methods of the Church; and farther admonishes him <sup>1</sup> *to suspect all others who go off from that succession, and hold their meetings in any place whatsoever, as heretics, or schismatics.*

byteris obaudire oportet, his qui successionem habent ab Apostolis, et cum Episcopatus successione charisma veritatis certum secundum placitum patris acceperunt. Lib. 4. c. 43. *Qui vero crediti sunt à multis, &c.* Ib. c. 44. §. 1.

<sup>9</sup> *Ab omnibus igitur talibus absistere oportet, adhærere vero his qui Apostolorum (sicut prædiximus) doctrinam custodierunt.* Ib. cap. 44.

<sup>1</sup> *Reliquos vero qui absistunt à principali successione, et quo-cunque loco colliguntur, suspectos habere, vel quasi hæreticos*

fidem, à me quidem aversabitur, doctrinam vero suscipiet secundum præceptum Domini, qui ait, supra Cathedram Moysi sederunt Scribæ et Pharisæi, omnia enim quæcunque vobis dicunt audite et facite, juxta autem opera illorum nolite facere ; dicunt quippe et non faciunt : iste sermo de me est, qui bona doceo, et contraria gero et sum sedens supra cathedram Moysi quasi Scriba et Pharisæus ; præceptum tibi est, O Popule, si non habueris accusationem Doctrinæ pessimæ, et alienorum ab Ecclesia dogmatum, conspiceris vero meam culpabilem vitam, atque peccata, ut non habeas juxta dicentis vitam tuam instituere, sed ea facere quæ loquor. *Homil. 7. in Ezechielem.*

et malæ sententiaæ, vel quasi scindentes, et elatos, et sibi placentes ; aut rursus ut hypocritas, quæstus gratiâ et vanæ gloriæ hoc operantes. *Iren.* *ubi supra, cap. 43.*

you please) to provide themselves a Pastor, of *their own authority, and without the assent of other Churches*, in the sense it is here pretended. And so far *Irenæus* and the *African Council* agree, neither of them warranting that *popular right and authority of heaping up teachers to themselves*, (to use the Apostle's words,) however unfortunate they might be, to have an immoral Pastor at any time among them.

*agreeable to the Churches Faith, from me indeed he will be averse, but he will receive my Doctrine according to the Precept of the Lord, which saith, The Scribes and Pharisees sit on Moses his Chair, whatever therefore they say unto you hear, and do, but according unto their Works do not, for they say and do not : That Scripture is of me, who teach what is good, and do the contrary, and sit upon the Chair of Moses as a Scribe or Pharisee ; the Precept is to thee, O People, if thou canst not accuse me of false Doctrine, or Heretical Opinions, but only beholdest my wicked and sinful Life ; thou must not square*

*tics, or proud, or pleasers of themselves, or else as hypocrites, who do it for the sake of interest or vainglory.* This gives but little licence, I think, to the people of any diocese, particular Church, or parish, (name it as

*thy Life according to my Life, but do those things which I speak.* Now whether *Irenæus*, or an *African* Synod, or *Origen* be to be most credited, I leave the Learned to judge, tho' I think they may be both nearer reconciled than they seem to be, *Irenæus* and that Synod affirming, that the People of their own Power and Authority might immediately, without the concurrent Assent of other Churches, upon the Immorality and Scandal of their Bishop, leave and desert him; *Origen* restraining the People from present Execution, till they had the Authority of a Synod for so doing; <sup>h</sup> for thus he must be understood, or else he will contradict all other Writers, it being avouched by all, that Synods did depose all those Bishops that were guilty of criminal and scandalous Enormities,

<sup>h</sup> *Origen must needs be understood* (as the learned Enquirer remarks) *to restrain the people from present separation, till they had the authority of a Synod for doing so.* And can the *African* Council be said to differ from *Origen* in this, when all that the former wrote upon the subject, was in the particular case of the *Spanish* Churches, where such a regular Synod had already settled all in the same manner that *Origen* would have it done? Or, supposing that *Irenæus* referred to this special case of immorality, (which most probably he did not,) could he be said to allow the people to provide another Bishop for themselves, *of their own power and authority, and without the assent of other Churches*, because he said *they should abstain from the former?* He does not at all determine for them, in what way they should be better provided for in the case, but plainly leaves them to the ordinary method of the Church; which, as the Enquirer owns in this very place, *was avouched by all to be this, that Synods did depose all scandalous and criminal Bishops; and to understand it otherwise* (in *Origen's* case, he says) *was to contradict all other writers besides.* It were hard, then, upon *Irenæus* to say, he did not so understand it, when he had strictly charged all Christians to keep close to the Apostolical succession, and to be so jealous of all others, who would meet any where, without regard to that. See Appendix, No. 19.

<sup>6</sup> Ob multa et gravia delicta.  
*Cyprian. Epist. 55. §. 11. p. 140.*

as *Privatus* Bishop of *Lambe* was deposed by a Synod of Ninety Bishops, <sup>6</sup> for his many and heinous Crimes.

§. 7. But now excepting these three Causes of Apostacy, Heresie and Immorality, it was Schism in a Parish to leave their Minister, or to set up another Bishop against him; for tho' they at first chose their Bishop, yet their Bishop being on their Choice approved and confirmed by the neighbouring Bishops, they could not dethrone him, without truly assigning one of those forementioned Causes; for this was to gather a Church out of a Church, to erect a new Altar and a new Bishop, which could not be in one Church; <sup>1</sup> for as *Cyprian* writes,

<sup>1</sup> Our learned Author seems so little to allow the unity of the Episcopacy for a common bond of unity to the Church universal, that he makes no mention of it, either in his negative or positive definitions. On the contrary, to make it patronise his own

<sup>2</sup> Enq. ch. 9. §. 7.

<sup>2</sup> singular opinion [that primitive schism respected only a particular Church] he adduces St.

*Cyprian's* notion, under that head, as a current proof of his particular or parochial unity, in contradistinction to that of the Church universal; though, to make it bend to that design, he was obliged

<sup>3</sup> Enq. ch. 2. §. 2.

to translate the venerable Fa-

ther's words, as he had done

<sup>3</sup> before, contrary to the genuine signification of them. The words, as the Enquirer translates them, are these: *God is one, Christ is one, the Church is one, the rock on which the Church is built is one*: but observe what follows; wherefore to erect a new altar, and constitute a new Bishop, besides the one altar and one Bishop, is impracticable. Now had St. *Cyprian* spoken of one Bishop, and a new Bishop, and no more, this clause of the period might have been supposed to refer to the unity or schism of a particular Church. But St. *Cyprian's* words are, [unum sacerdotium, and novum sacerdotium] one priesthood,

*7 God is one, Christ is one, the Church is one, the Rock on which the Church is built is one; wherefore to erect a new Altar, and constitute a*

*7 Deus unus est, et Christus unus, et una Ecclesia, et Cathedra una super Petrum Domini voce fundata; aliud altare constitui, aut Sacerdotium novum*

*and a new priesthood*; which are complex terms, and denote not a single Bishop, but the entire order of Bishops in the Church, or (in his own language) the *one Episcopacy*, whereof each Bishop held a part. And this is that principle of unity in the Catholic Church, which the holy Martyr, in this quotation, declares to be so absolutely *one*, that he introduces it with all those solemn instances of indivisible unity which we find in the same period with it: a plain proof, that no breach of it could be made in any single Church whatever; but that the whole Episcopacy was broken, and consequently that the schism must, *ipso facto*, extend to the Church universal.

In short, the difference between the primitive Church and the Enquirer, in this matter, seems to lie here. The Enquirer notices only, how *that* particular Church *alone*, wherein the schism began, had a new Bishop imposed upon them; and therefore sees no farther injury or innovation yet made in the Church besides. The primitive Church was sensible, that there was not only a new Bishop schismatically made in that *particular Church*, but a new *priesthood*, or a new *Episcopacy*, springing up by means of it, which stood in open competition with that one priesthood, or one Episcopacy, derived from Christ and his Apostles, and might, from generation to generation, propagate another Church, distinct from, and independent of, the only true one; usurping an equal right and title to Scriptures, Creeds, and Sacraments, (as well as a *new priesthood*,) with the Apostolic succession itself, unless they all jointly disavowed the usurpation, and every Bishop of the Church (as soon as he had any cognizance of it) utterly renounced all correspondence or communion with the authors or abettors of it. So immediately did every particular schism, without any other intervening act in the case, influence the universal Church, and violate the sacred unity of it.

fieri præter unum altare et unum Sacerdotium non potest: Quis quis alibi collegerit, spargit, adulterum est, impium est, quod cunque humano furore instituitur, ut dispositio divina violetur. *Epist.* 40. §. 4. p. 93.

<sup>8</sup> Neque enim aliunde nata sunt schismata, quam inde quod Sacerdoti Dei non obtemperatur, nec unus in Ecclesia ad tempus Sacerdos, et ad tempus Judex vice Christi cogitatur. *Epist.* 55. §. 6. p. 138.

<sup>9</sup> Hi sunt ortus atque conatus Schismaticorum malè cogitantium ut sibi placeant, ut præpositum superbo tumore contemnant, sic de Ecclesia receditur, sic altare profanum foris collocatur, sic contra pacem Christi, et ordinationem atque unitatem Dei rebellatur. *Epist.* 65. §. 4. p. 193.

<sup>1</sup> Inde Schismata et Hæreses obortæ sunt, et oriuntur, dum Episcopus qui unus est, et Ecclesiæ præest, superba quorundam præsumptione contemnitur, et homo dignatione Dei hono-ratus indignus hominibus judicatur. *Epist.* 69. §. 4. p. 208.

<sup>2</sup> Illi sunt Ecclesia plebs Sacerdoti adunata, et pastori suo grex adhærens, unde scire debes Episcopum in Ecclesia esse, et

*new Bishop, besides the one Altar and the one Bishop, is impracticable; whosoever gathers here, scatters; so to do is adulterous, impious, sacrilegious, mad and wicked.* <sup>8</sup> *From hence, says Cyprian, Schisms do arise, that the Bishop is not obeyed; and it is not considered that there ought to be but one Bishop, and one Judge in a Church at a time.* And <sup>9</sup> *this is the Rise and Source of Schismatics, that through their swelling Pride they contemn their Bishop, and so they go off from the Church, so they erect a profane Altar, and so they rebel against the Peace of Christ, and the Ordination and Unity of God.* And again, <sup>1</sup> *From thence proceed Schisms, that the Bishop who is but one, and presides over the Church, is contemned by the proud Presumption of Men, and he that was thought worthy by God, is esteemed unworthy by Men.* And again, <sup>2</sup> *The Church is the People united to their Bishop, and the Sheep adhering to their Pastor; the Bishop is in the Church, and the Church in the Bishop; whosoever are not*

*with the Bishop, are not in the Church, and those do in vain flatter themselves, who having not Peace with God's Priests, creep about, and privately communicate with some, as they think, when the Catholick Church is not divided, but connexed and coupled together by the Unity of its agreeing Bishops.* Whosoever therefore should causelessly desert his Bishop, and solicit others so to do, was a true Schismatick, since in so doing, <sup>3</sup> he divided a Portion of the Flock with the Bishop, separated the Sheep from their Pastor, and dissipated the Members of Christ.

From these Quotations then it is apparent, that the Primitive Schism respected only a particular Church, and consisted in a Person's Separation from Communion with his lawful Bishop without a just and authentick Cause; when any one should set up a particular Church in a particular Church, in opposition to the lawful Bishop thereof, and should draw away the Inhabitants of that Parish from the Communion of their legal Minister, setting up distinct Meetings and <sup>4</sup> Conventicles, as *Cyprian* calls them. This was true Schism; for as *Ignatius* says, whosoever so assembled <sup>5</sup> were not congregated legally according to the Command: And <sup>6</sup> whosoever officiated without the Bishop, sacrificed to the Devil.

Ecclesiam in Episcopo, et si qui cum Episcopo non sunt, in Ecclesia non esse, et frustra sibi blandiri eos, qui pacem cum Sacerdotibus Dei non habentes obrepunt, et latenter apud quosdam communicace se credunt, quando Ecclesia, quæ Catholica una est, scissa non sit, neque divisa, sed fit utique connexa, et cohaerentium sibi invicem Sacerdotum glutino copulata. *Epist.* 69. §. 7. p. 209.

<sup>3</sup> Cum Episcopo portionem plebis dividere, id est, à pastore oves, et filios à parente separare, et Christi membra dissipare. *Epist.* 38. §. 1. p. 90.

<sup>4</sup> Conventicula sibi diversa constituant. *De unitat. Eccles.* §. 10. p. 299.

<sup>5</sup> Μὴ βεβαιῶς κατ' ἐντολὴν συναθροίστεσθαι. *Ad Magnes.* p. 32.

<sup>6</sup> Οἱ λαθεῖαι ἐπισκόπου τὶ πεάσσων, τῷ διαβόλῳ λάτερει. *Epist. ad Smirn.* p. 7.

§. 8. This Notion now of Schism gives us a clear Reason, why we find in *Ignatius* so frequent and Pathetick Injunctions of Obedience to, and Unity with our respective Pastors, of avoiding all Divisions, and closely adhering to them; because a deserting of them, or a separating from them, was a Commission of this horrid and detestable Sin of Schism, as will appear from these following Exhortations and Instructions of his, with which every Leaf almost of

<sup>7</sup> Πάντες τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ακολουθεῖτε, ὡς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς τῷ πατρὶ, καὶ τῷ πρέσβυτερῷ, ὡς τοῖς ἀποστόλοις· τοὺς δὲ διαικόνους ἐντέπεισθε, ὡς Θεοῦ ἐντολὴν. Μηδεὶς χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τὶ πρασσέτω τῶν ἀνηκόντων εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἐκείνην βεβαίᾳ ἐνχαριστίᾳ ἡγείσθω, ἢ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου οὖσα, ἢ ὡς ἄλις αὐτὸς ἐπιτρέψῃ, ὅπου ἂν φανῇ ὁ ἐπισκόπος, ἐκεῖ τὸ πλῆθος ἔστω, ὕστερος ὅπου ἄλλη Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς, ἐκεῖ ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία οὐκ ἐξὸν ἐστιν χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, οὐτε Βαπτίζειν, οὐτε αγάπην ποιεῖν, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς ἄλλος εκείνος δοκιμάσῃ τοῦτο καὶ τῷ Θεῷ ευάρεστον, ἵνα ἀσφαλὲς ἡ καὶ βέβαιον πᾶν ὁ πράσσεται. Epist. ad Smirn. p. 6.

*All you of the Church of Smirna obey your Bishop as Jesus Christ did the Father and the Presbytery as the Apostles, and honour the Deacons according to the Command of God. Let nothing of Ecclesiastical Services be done without the Bishop; let that Communion only be esteemed valid, which is performed by the Bishop, or by one permitted by him. Wherever the Bishop is, there let the People be; as where Jesus Christ is, there the Catholick Church is; it is not lawful without the Bishop,*

*or one permitted by him, to baptize or celebrate the Eucharist; this is pleasing unto God that so whatsoever is done may be firm and Legal.*

<sup>8</sup> Τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ προστέχετε, ἵνα καὶ ὁ Θεὸς ὑμῖν ἀντιψύχον ἐγὼ τῶν ὑποτασσομένων τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, πρεσβυτέροις, διάκονοις, καὶ μετ' ἀυτῶν μᾶς τὸ μέρος γενοίσθω σχεῖν εν Θεῷ. Epist. ad Polycarp. p. 14.

<sup>9</sup> Μὴ ἀντιτάσσεσθαι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, *Let us not*

*resist our Bishop, lest we be found Resisters of God.* <sup>1</sup> *I exhort you to do every thing in the Unity of God, the Bishop presiding in the place of God, and the Presbyters in the place of the Council of the Apostles, and the Deacons performing the intrusted Ministry of Jesus Christ; let there nothing be in you that may divide you, but be united to your Bishop and Presidents: As therefore Christ did nothing without the Father, being united to him, neither by himself nor by his Apostles, so do you nothing without the Bishop and Presbyters, nor privately withdraw from them, but assemble together, having one Prayer, one Supplication, one Mind and one Hope.* <sup>2</sup> *Flee all Division; where the Pastor is, there as Sheep follow, for there are many plausible Wolves, that seek to carry you away, but let them have no place in your Unity—Whoever are God's and Jesus Christ's, they are with the Bishop; and whosoever repenting shall come to the Unity of the Church, those shall be God's, that they may live according to Jesus Christ. Be*

*ἴνα ὥμεν Θεοῦ ὑποτασσόμενοι.* *Ad Ephes. p. 20.*

<sup>1</sup> *Παρεχιῷ ἐν ὅμονοιᾳ Θεοῦ σπουδάζετε πάντα πράσσειν προκαθημένου τοῦ ἐπισκοποῦ εἰς τόπον Θεοῦ καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων εἰς τόπον συνέδριου τῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ τῶν διακόνων—πεπιστευμένων διακονίαν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, μηδὲν ἔστω ἐν ὑμῖν ὁ δυνήσεται ὑμᾶς μερίσαι, ἀλλ' ἐνώθητε τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ τοῖς προκαθημένοις—ώσπερ οὖν ὁ Κύριος ἀνεύ τοῦ πατέρος ὅνδεν ἐποίησε ἡνάμενος ὃν οὔτε δι' ἑαυτοῦ, οὔτε διὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων, οὔτως μηδὲ ὑμεῖς ανεύ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων μηδὲν πράσσητε μηδὲ πειράσσητε ἔνλογὸν τὸ φαίνεσθαι ὃδια ὑμῖν ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ μία προσευχῇ μία δέσησις, εἰς νοῦς, μία ἔλπις.* *Epist. ad Magnesios, p. 33.*

<sup>2</sup> *Φεύγετε δὲ τὸν μέρισμον—ὅπου δὲ ὁ ποιμὴν ἔστιν ἔκει ὡς πρόβατα ἀκολουθεῖτε, πόλλοι γὰρ λύκοι αξιόπιστοι ὥδοντι κακῇ αἰχμαλωτίζουσιν τοὺς θεοδόξους ἀλλ: ἐν τῇ ἐνότητι ὑμῶν οὐκ ἔξουσιν τόπον—ὅσοι γὰρ Θεοῦ εἰσὶν καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ οὗτοι μετα τοῦ ἐπισκόπου εἰσὶν καὶ ὅσα ἄν μετανοήσαντες ἔλθωσιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐνότητα της ἐκκλησίας οὗτοι Θεοῦ ἔσονται ἵνα ὥσιν κατὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστον ζῶντες. Μὴ πλανᾶσθε ἀδελφοί μου, εἴ τις σχίζοντι ἀκολουθεῖ βαστείαν Θεοῦ οὐ κληρονομεῖ.* *Epist. ad Philadelph. p. 40.*

*not deceived, my Brethren, if any one follows a Schismatick, or one that causeth Division and Separation, he shall not*

<sup>3</sup> Τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ προσέχετε καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερῷ καὶ διακόνοις, χωξὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μηδὲν ποιεῖτε, τὸν σαρκα ὑμῶν ὡς ναὸν Θεοῦ τηρεῖτε, τὴν ἔνωσιν αγαπᾶτε, τὸν μερισμὸν φεύγετε, μιμητὰ γινεσθε 'Ιησοῦ Χριστοῦ ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς τοῦ πατρὸς ἀντοῦ, οὐδὲ μερισμὸς ἐστὶν καὶ ὁργὴ, Θεὸς οὐ κατοικεῖ, πᾶσιν οὖν μετανοοῦσιν ἀφίει ὁ Κύριος, ἐκαὶ μετάνοισιν εἰς ἐνότητα Θεοῦ καὶ συνέδριον τοῦ ἐπισκόπου. Epist. ad Philadelph. p. 43.

*Presbytery of the Bishop.* And some other such like Expressions there are in the Epistles of this Father, which evidently demonstrate Schism to be nothing else than a causeless Separation from our Parish Bishop or Minister, and a wandring after, or an Adhesion to another false and pretended Pastour.

§. 9. <sup>4</sup> But for the clearer Proof, that this was what the Fathers meant by Schism, it may not be altogether un-

<sup>5</sup> The Enquirer undertakes to make his *thesis* still clearer, by the noted instances of *Felicissimus's* schism in the Church of *Carthage*, and that of *Novatian at Rome*. For this purpose he shews at large, that they were called *schismatics*, and proceeded against as such, whilst they neither caused nor attempted any separation from any other Churches, but those of *Carthage* and *Rome* respectively. But let us hear what St. *Cyprian* says of those very schisms. Of *Felicissimus* and his accomplices, he says to *Cornelius of Rome*, <sup>6</sup> *What manner of persons do you think they must be, who are enemies of the*

<sup>8</sup> Qualis putas esse eos, qui *sacerdotum hostes*, et contra *Ec-*

necessary to add unto these Quotations an Example or two; for Examples more convincingly instruct than bare Testimonies and Citations. And here let us first view the Schism of *Felicissimus* in the Church of *Carthage*, as it is related in the 38th, 40th, and 55th Epistles of *Cyprian*,

Bishops, and rebels against the *clesiam Catholicam* rebelles ? Catholic Church ? Did their *Cypr. Epist. 59. §. 5. Edit. Oxon.* schism respect himself and his

Church only, and yet that good

man bring so severe a charge against them, beyond what they deserved ? No, it was on account of his settled judgment in the case, and that of the whole Christian Church with him, according to the Catholic principle of which we are now speaking. Of *Novatian* he says still more plainly : <sup>9</sup> *he separated himself from the bond of the Church, and from the college of Bishops, and would neither keep the unity of the Episcopacy, nor the peace of it.*

<sup>9</sup> *Qui se ab Ecclesiæ vinculo, atque à sacerdotum collegio separat—qui Episcopatūs nec unitatem voluit tenere, nec pacem.*

*Cyp. Epist. p. 112. Edit. Oxon.*

This, and such like evidence from antiquity, pressed so hard upon the Enquirer's singular notion, that he was obliged to have recourse to those cautious distinctions, <sup>1</sup> that schism in its <sup>1</sup> *Enq. ch. 9. §. 11.* larger sense was a breach of the *Church Universal*; but, in its usual and restrained sense, of a *Church, particular*. And again, <sup>2</sup> that schism, principally and originally, respected a particular *Church, or Parish*; though it might consequentially influence others too. And again, <sup>3</sup> that it actually broke the unity of one *Church, and virtually of all.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid. §. 5.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid. §. 8.*

In the first of which distinctions, he admits that schism, in some sense, was a breach of the *Church Universal*; but in what large sense that should be, if it respected a particular *Church only*,

and we shall find it respecting only that particular Church or Parish. When *Cyprian* was elected Bishop of *Carthage*, *Felicissimus* and others of his Faction opposed him, but finding themselves too weak, and not powerful enough to balance his Interest, they yielded to his Promotion, but yet still retained an Hatred against his Person, and waited for a more favourable opportunity and a plausible Pretence to separate from him. It pleased God that *Cyprian* some time after his Advancement, was forced, by reason of the Persecution, to withdraw and absent from his Flock, during which Absence that Faction made use of all means to lesscu his Interest, till they had made their Party indifferently strong, and then they broke out into an open Separation from him, forming themselves into a distinct Meeting, creating a new Bishop, erecting a new Altar, and constituting a new Church. Now all this was acted in, and respected only the particular Parish of *Carthage*, without causing or attempting any Separation in any other Church or Parish ; and yet this *Cyprian* calls *Schism*, and Excommunicates the Actors in it as Schismatics, and Breakers of the Unity of the Church, of his Church Actully, and of all the other Churches of the Church Universal Virtually, who like the Members of the Natural Body, are affected with the Pains and Convulsions of each other.

So also the famous Schism of *Novatian* respected only the particular Church of *Rome*, being no other than his causeless Separation from *Cornelius* his lawful Bishop, and his erecting separate Conventicles against him, as may be

<sup>4</sup> Enq. ch. 9. §. 7. (as he <sup>4</sup> affirms of it,) I am at a loss to conceive. *Originally*, indeed, it respected a *particular Church* so far, that in one or other of them, it must *originally* have broken out ; but that it respected other Churches *consequently only*, is by no means so clear. See Appendix, No. 20.

read at large in those Epistles of *Cyprian*, that treat of this Affair, and in his Book *De Unitate Ecclesiae*.

§. 10. But I foresee an evident Objection against this restrained Notion of Schism, and in particular from the Schism of *Novatian*, which I cannot well pass over without resolving, since the Solution thereof will inform us in the manner, how the Schism of one particular Church did affect other Churches. Now the Objection may be this : If Schism respected only one particular Church, whence then comes it to pass that we read of *Novatian* Bishops not only at *Rome*, where that Schism first began, but in several other Churches and Parishes besides ? Now to this I answer, That we must distinguish between the Schism and the Heresie of *Novatian* ; had *Novatian* been only guilty of Schism, in all probability, his Schismatrical Actions, as well as all other Schisms before, would have ended in the same Church where they began, and have proceeded no farther ; but he having once engaged in his Schism, and willing to continue it, that he might have some pretence for those enormous Practices, he accused his Bishop of remitting and loosing the Reins of Discipline, in communicating with *Trophimus*, and others, that had Sacrificed to Idols, as may be amply seen in the 55th Epistle of *Cyprian* ; consequently for the Justification of this Accusation, he added this Doctrine, as the Characteristick Dogma of his Party, That the Church had no power to absolve those who lapsed after Baptism, but were to leave them to the Tribunal of God. This was an Error in Doctrine, invidious to the Mercy of God, and injurious to the Merits of Christ, as *Cyprian* shews at large in his 55th Epistle. Every Error in Doctrine was called Heresie. Accordingly *Novatian* is branded for this as an Heretick ; whence the Confessors in their return from his Party, confessed that in adhering to them, <sup>4</sup> they had committed Schisms, and <sup>4</sup> Commissee se Schismata,

et hæresis auctores fuisse. *Cyprian. Epist.* 46. §. 1. p. 104.  
 5 Schismatico et hæretico homine. *Ibidem* §. 3. p. 105.  
 6 Hæreticæ pravitatis. *Epist.* 47. §. 1. p. 107.

7 Schismaticus et hæreticus error. *Epist.* 51. §. 2. p. 111.

*been the Authors of Heresies.* And in the same Epistle they call *Novatian* <sup>5</sup> *an Heretick, and a Schismatick.* So *Cyprian* also accuses the said *Novatian*, <sup>6</sup> *of heretical Pravity*; and calls his Error <sup>7</sup> *a Schismatical and Heretical Error.*

So that *Novatian's* Schism was accompanied with Heresie; which, as usual, was called after the Name of its Author; and having many eminent Persons to abet it, and a specious shew of Sanctity and Mortification, it is no wonder that it spreads its self into many other Churches, besides that where it was first hatched; unto which we may also add their Industrious Endeavours to proselyte

<sup>8</sup> Ostiatim per multorum domos, vel oppidatim, per quas-dam civitates disurrentes, obstinationis suæ et erroris scissi sibi querant comites. *Epist.* 41. §. 2. p. 97.

Men unto their Party, <sup>8</sup> *running about*, as *Cyprian* writes, *from House to House, and from Town to Town, to gain Companions in their Obstinacy and Error.* For many of them really thinking themselves to be in the right,

and believing others to be in the wrong, conceived it to be their bounden Duty to leave their Bishop, if he would not leave his Heresie, as they apprehended it to be. And probably several Bishops of the Orthodox, who were the legal Pastors of their respective Parishes, were through their own Ignorance, and those Men's fair Pretences, deluded into the same uncharitable Error with them, of denying the Lapsed any Pardon. But we need not guess at this as only probable, since we have an Instance of it in *Martian* the lawful Bishop of *Arles*, concerning whom, *Cyprian* writes to *Stephen* Bishop of *Rome*, that he had

received Advice from the Bishops of that Province,  
<sup>9</sup> *That Martian of Arles had joyned himself unto Novatian, and had departed from the Unity of the Church, and the Concord of the Bishops, holding that Heretical Severity, that the Consolations of Divine Pity and Fatherly Lenity, should be shut against the penitent and mourning Servants of God, who knock at the Church with Tears, Sighs and Groans, so that the wounded are not admitted to have their Wounds healed, but being left without any hope of Peace or Communion, are thrown out to the Rapine of Wolves, and Prey of the Devil.*

9 Martianus Arelate consistens Novatiano se conjunxerit, et à Catholicæ Ecclesiæ unitate, atque à corporis nostri et Sacerdotii consensione discesserit, tenens Hæreticæ præsumptionis durissimam pravitatem, ut servis Dei poenitentibus et dolentibus, et ad Ecclesiam lachrymis et gemitu et dolore pulsantibus, divinæ pietatis et lenitatis paterna solatia et subsidia claudantur, nec ad fovenda vulnera admittantur vulnerati, sed sine spe pacis et communicationis relictæ ad luporum rapinam et prædam Diaboli projiciantur. *Epist. 67. §. 1. p. 198.*

So that it was not *Novatian's* Schism, but his Heresie, that was diffused through other Churches; his Schism respected only his own Church, but his Heresie, which was a Breach of the Unity of the Church Universal, respected other Churches also; so that in answer to the forenamed Objection, we need only say this, That there was no such Thing as the Objection supposes; that is, that there were no Bishops or Followers of *Novatian's* Schism in other Churches, but that those that were discriminated by his Name, were the Bishops and Followers of his Heresie.

But however let us suppose the worst, *viz.* That all Schismaticks had been Orthodox and sound in every Point of Faith, had been exemplary and pious in the discharge

of every Duty, had been guilty of no Crime but their Schism from their Bishop and Parish, and yet their Schism might have influenced other Churches and Parishes too, and that I think <sup>1</sup> these two Ways.

<sup>1</sup> It was no small error in the learned Enquirer to render St. *Cyprian's novum sacerdotium*, a *new Bishop*, instead of a *new Priesthood*, since it was the main hinge on which the controversy turned. Had the phrase been rendered rightly, it would have shewn wherein the primitive Church and our Enquirer differed about those important points of *unity* and *schism*.

The two only ways, whereby the *schism of a particular Church might influence other Churches, namely, by admitting excommunicated schismatics, their legates, messengers, or followers*; or else, by *receiving letters from them, and approving their pretensions*; are of a very different consideration from the point in question here. The question is not, how other Churches might actually become schismatics, as well as the *principals themselves*; but how all Christian Churches, (in the judgment of the primitive Fathers,) were injured *ipso facto*, and their Catholic unity immediately broken by a schism in any particular Church, though no other Church besides either favoured or approved. This was, not by becoming schismatics themselves, (as the Enquirer's argument implies,) but by the schismatics introducing a new Priesthood or Episcopacy into the Church of Christ, wherein they were wholly passive, but universally concerned. St. *Cyprian* knew indeed from the nature of the thing itself, that every schism must be formed by some members of a *particular Church* breaking off from their own Bishop, and he therefore inveighs against such a breach, as the *necessary cause* from whence schism must arise.

<sup>5</sup> Neque aliunde *nata sunt schismata*, &c. *Hi sunt ortus atque conatus schismaticorum*, &c. *Inde schismata et hæreses obortæ sunt*, &c. *See Enq. 9. §. 7.*

schismatics, how their guilt came to be so great, he gives them

<sup>5</sup> quotations shew; but they are adduced as evidences, that schism respected only those particular Churches, and no more; whereas when the same St. *Cyprian* comes to tell the

1. If one or more Churches had admitted to Communion those that were Excommunicated by their own Church for Schism, that Church or Churches made themselves Partakers of those Mens Crimes, and involved themselves in the same Guilt of Division and Schism with them, as *Martian*, Bishop of *Arles*, was adjudged by *Cyprian* as a Schismatick, <sup>1</sup> *Because*

*he had joined with Novatian, when he had been before Ex-communicated.* I do not here mean, that a Bishop or

Parish to make themselves

guilty, should actually or personally communicate with the Author of the Schism himself, much less in the Church where he began his Schism, but it was enough if they joyned with his Legates or Messengers, or any of his Followers in any Chureh whatsoever; and therefore neither an <sup>2</sup> *African Synod*, nor

<sup>3</sup> *Et cum ad nos in Africam legatos misisset, optans ad com- municationem nostram admitti, hinc sententiam retulerit, se foris esse cœpisse, nec posse à quoquam nostrum sibi communicari.*

*Cypr.* 67. §. 2. p. 198.

this reason for it, (which the Enquirer has also transcribed,) <sup>4</sup> *because*, says he, *the Catholic*

*Church, which is one, is not rent nor divided, but knit and coupled together by the cement of her Bishops united to one another.* As if he had said, that no schism could be made, but the Catholic Church, and all the Bishops of it would be

injured at once. And this plain consequence of revolting from a single Bishop, was a sufficient motive with St. *Ignatius*, for laying such frequent injunctions upon all Christians to obey their *respective Pastors*, and to live in unity *with them*.

<sup>1</sup> *Cum Novatianus ipse, quem sequitur, olim abstentus et hostis Ecclesiæ judicatus sit. Ep. 67. §. 2. p. 198.*

<sup>2</sup> *Et cum ad nos in Africam*

*legatos misisset, optans ad com-*

*municationem nostram admitti, hinc sententiam retulerit, se foris*

*esse cœpisse, nec posse à quoquam nostrum sibi communicari.*

<sup>3</sup> *Eng. Ibid. Quando Ecclesia, quæ Catholica una est, scissa non sit neque divisa, sed sit utique connexa, et cohærentium sibi invicem sacerdotum glutino copulata. Cypr. Ep. 69. (Edit. Oxon. 66.) §. 7.*

<sup>3</sup> Cum Novatiano te non communicare. *Idem Epist.* 52. §. 1. p. 113.

<sup>4</sup> Felicissimum rejectum à te illic esse. *Cypr. Epist.* 55. §. 1. p. 137.

as he was excluded from Communion in his own Church, so likewise was he in that of *Rome*.

2. It was the Custom when any Bishop was Elected, to send News of his Promotion to other Bishops, as <sup>5</sup> *Cornelius* did to *Cyprian*, that so he might have their Confirmation, and their future Letters to the Bishop of that Church, to which he was promoted, might be directed unto him, as <sup>6</sup> *Cyprian* did unto *Cornelius*;

<sup>6</sup> Literas nostras ad te direxi-  
mus. *Cyprian. Epist.* 42. §. 1. p. 99.

quaint them of their Advancement to the Episcopal Throne, was also observed by the Schismatics, and in particular by *Novatian*, who <sup>7</sup> sent *Maximus a Presbyter*, *Augendus a Deacon*, *Machæus and Longinus* unto *Cyprian*, to inform him of his Promotion to the See of *Rome*.

<sup>7</sup> Venerunt ad nos, missi à Novatiano Maximus Presbyter et Augendus Diaconus, et Machæus quidam, et Longinus. *Cyp. Epist.* 41. §. 1. p. 96.

Bishop or Church did knowingly approve the Pretensions of the Schismatical Bishop, they broke the Concord of the Church, and became guilty of Schism, as may be gathered from the beginning of an Epistle of *Cyprian's* to *Antonius*

<sup>8</sup> Accepi literas tuas, concordiam collegii Sacerdotalis firmiter ob-

<sup>3</sup> *Antonius an African Bishop*, would communicate with the Legates of *Novatian*. Nor would <sup>4</sup> *Cornelius joyn in Communion with Felicissimus a Schismatick of Carthage*, when he came to *Rome*; but

<sup>5</sup> *Cornelius* did to *Cyprian*, that so he might have their Confirmation, and their future Letters to the Bishop of that Church, to which he was promoted, might be directed unto him, as <sup>6</sup> *Cyprian* did unto *Cornelius*;

<sup>6</sup> *Cyprian* did unto *Cornelius*; which Custom of sending Messengers to other Churches, to acquaint them of their Advancement to the Episcopal Throne, was also observed by the Schismatics, and in particular by *Novatian*, who <sup>7</sup> sent *Maximus a Presbyter*, *Augendus a Deacon*, *Machæus and Longinus* unto *Cyprian*, to inform him of his Promotion to the See of *Rome*.

Now if any Bishop or Church did knowingly approve the Pretensions of the Schismatical Bishop, they broke the Concord of the Church, and became guilty of Schism, as may be gathered from the beginning of an Epistle of *Cyprian's* to *Antonius* an *African Bishop*, wherein he writes him, <sup>8</sup> *That he had received his Letter, which*

*firmly consented to the Concord of the Sacerdotal College, and adhered to the Catholick Church, by which he had signified, that he would not communicate with Novatian, but hold an Agreement with Bishop Cornelius.* And therefore when Legates came to *Cyprian*, both from *Cornelius* and *Novatian*, he duly weighed who was legally Elected; and finding *Cornelius* so to be, he approved his Election, <sup>9</sup> *Directed his Congratulatory Letters unto him, refused to communicate with the Schismatical Messengers of Novatian, <sup>2</sup> and exhorted them to quit their Schism, and to submit to their lawful elected Bishop.*

So that in these two respects, the Schism of a particular Church might influence others also, involving them in the same Crime, creating Quarrels and Dissentions between their respective Bishops, and so dividing the Dischargers of that Honourable Office, whom God had made one; for as *Cyprian* says, <sup>3</sup> *As there is but one Church throughout the whole World, divided into many Members; so there is but one Bishoprick diffused through the agreeing Number of many Bishops.*

§. 11. But now that we may conclude this Chapter, the Sum of all that hath been spoken concerning Schism, is, that Schism in its large Sense, was a Breach of

tinentes et Catholicæ Ecclesiæ cohærentes, quibus significasti cum Novatiano te non communicare, sed cum Cornelio Coepiscopo nostro unum tenere consensum. *Epist. 52. §. 1. p. 113.*

<sup>9</sup> Literas nostras ad te direximus. *Epist. 42. §. 1. p. 99.*

<sup>1</sup> A communicatione eos nostra statim cohibendos esse censuimus. *Epist. 41. §. 1. p. 96.*

<sup>2</sup> Nec mandare desistimus, ut perniciosa dissensione deposita —agnoscant, Episcopo semel facto, alium constitui nullo modo posse. *Ibid. §. 2. p. 97.*

<sup>3</sup> Cum sit à Christo una Ecclesia per totum mundum in multa membra divisa, item Episcopatus unus Episcoporum multorum concordi numerositate diffusus. *Epist. 52. §. 16. p. 119.*

the Unity of the Church Universal ; but in its usual and restrained Sense of a Church Particular, whosoever without any just reason, through Faction, Pride and Envy, separated from his Bishop, or his Parish Church, he was a true Schismatick ; and whosoever was thus a Schismatick,

<sup>4</sup> *Alienus est—habere jam non potest Deum patrem, qui Ecclesiam non habet matrem; tales etiam si occisi in confessione nominis fuerint, macula ista nec sanguine abluitur. De Unit. Eccles. §. 5. & 12. p. 297. & 300.*

if we may believe <sup>m</sup> Saint Cyprian, *He had no longer God for his Father, nor the Church for his Mother, but was out of the Number of the Faithful; and though he should die for the Faith, yet should he never be saved.*

<sup>m</sup> St. Cyprian's words are very close and affecting. The schismatic, (says he,) *can no longer have God for his Father, who has not the Church for his Mother; but is out of the number of the faithful; and though he should die for the faith, yet should he never be saved.*

And Irenæus

<sup>7</sup> *Magnum et gloriosum corpus Christi condescindunt et dividunt, et, quantum in ipsis est, interficiunt. Iren. lib. 4. cap. 53.*

apostates from the faith, (censured by St. Paul, *Heb. vi. 6.*) *who crucify to themselves afresh the Lord of glory, and put him to an open shame.* This guilt Irenæus considers as still more unnatural,

<sup>8</sup> *Propter modicas et quaslibet causas. Iren. ut supra.*

when men *actually make a schism on account of <sup>8</sup> slight and inconsiderate matters, i. e.*

*(as the learned Enquirer ex-*

*plains it,) non-essential points, which wound no fundamental article of Christian faith or doctrine. To such schismatics his censure more immediately applies; and if the joint suffrage of these two eminent martyrs of the primitive Church were but duly weighed and attended to, it might have a salutary influence upon the unhappy divisions of our times. Should all divided parties*

Thus much then shall serve for that Query, concerning the Churches Unity. The next and last thing that is to be enquired into, is the Worship of the Primitive Church ; that is, the Form and Method of their Publick Services, of Reading, Singing, Preaching, Praying, of Baptism, Confirmation, and the Lord's Supper ; of their Fasts and Feasts ; of their Rites and Ceremonies, and such like, which I thought to have annexed to this Treatise ; but this being larger than I expected, and the Discourse relating to the Primitive Worship being like to be almost as large, I have for this and some other Reasons, reserved it for a particular Tract by its self ; which, if nothing prevents, may be expos'd hereafter to publick View and Observation.

in the Reformed Churches of this age, have the same fear of the guilt and danger of schism, and the same peaceful indifference to non-essential points, which those holy Fathers of the primitive Church had ; we should stand in no need of litigious volumes of controversy : the sorest divisions amongst us would almost heal of themselves ; they would insensibly dissolve within every man's own breast, through the gentle, but powerful influence of that spirit of peace, humility and love, which, for so many ages together, kept the Universal Church of Christ in so amiable and admired an unity within itself. May the dying petition of the great Lord and Redeemer of the Church, for the peace and unity of us all, procure that miracle of mercy for us, that *we all may be one, even as the Father and He are one!* Amen, Amen.

F I N I S.



## A P P E N D I X.



## APPENDIX, No. 1.

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THE usual and common acceptation of the word Church, (says our Enquirer, ch. 1. §. 2.) is that of *a particular Church, i. e. a society of Christians, meeting together in one place under their proper Pastors, for the performance of religious worship, and the exercising of Christian discipline.* This is the definition on which more modern Dissenters so strongly insist. “The word Church” (says Mr. James) “has an enlarged, and also a more confined signification in the Word of God. In some places it is employed to comprehend the aggregate of believers of every age and nation; hence we read of the ‘general assembly and Church of the firstborn,’ and of the Church which ‘Christ loved and purchased with his blood.’ In its more confined acceptation, it means a congregation of professing Christians, meeting for worship in one place; hence we read of the Church at Corinth, of the Thessalonians, of Ephesus, &c.” And after giving us his ideas of the word, he adds, “these are the only two senses in which the word (Church) is ever employed by the sacred writers; consequently all provincial and national Churches, or in other words to call the people of a province or nation a Church of Christ, is a most gross perversion of the term, and rendering the kingdom of Jesus more a matter of geography than of religion.”\*

\* James's Church Members' Guide, p. 6. 8th Edition; and p. 7. 2nd Edition. See also Scale's Principles of Dissent, pp. 86, 87.

Churchmen agree with the *Enquirer* so far as to admit that the word Church is employed both by the sacred and primitive writers in more than two different senses, though not in the senses intended by him. In their opinion, 1st. It is sometimes used, without any relation to the worship of God or Christ, and therefore is translated *assembly*,\* (as in Acts xix. 32, 39, 40.) 2ndly. It is sometimes used for the assembly of the people of God under the law, and therefore might be most properly translated the *congregation*, as it is in the Old Testament. 3rdly. Even in the Scriptures it may sometimes be taken for the place, in which the members of the Church met to perform their solemn and public services to God: (Acts viii. 38. Heb. ii. 12:) though some passages, which seem to speak† no less, are not so certainly to be understood of the *place*, but that they may as well be spoken of the *people* congregated in a certain place.

\* The Greek word, used by the Apostles to express the Church, is ἐκκλησία, from ἐκκαλεῖν, evocare. It properly signifies an evocation, or calling forth, if we look upon the *derivation*; a congregation of men, or a company assembled, if we consider the *use* of it. We find it used for an assembly, a congregation in general, Thucydides, lib. 1. 44, γενομένης καὶ δἰς ἐκκλησίας, also lib. 1. 87, &c. From the notation of the word, however, we cannot conclude, that it signifies a number of men called together into one assembly out of the mass of mankind, because the preposition *ἐκ* has no such force in the use of the word, and because the collection, or coming together, is not specified in the derivation.

† Acts xi. 26. 1 Cor. xi. 18, 22. From these places St. Augustine collected that ἐκκλησία was taken in the Scriptures for the place of meeting, or the house of God, and came so to be frequently used in the language of the Christians in his time. But it is not so certain, that the Apostle used ἐκκλησία in that sense; nor is it certain that there were any houses set apart for the worship of God in the Apostles' times, which then could be called by that name.

The old English word now in use among us, is derived from the Greek Κυρῖος, *the Lord*, and that properly *Christ*; from whence Κυρίακος, *belonging*

Besides these few different acceptations, the Church in the language of the New Testament always signifies a company of persons professing the Christian faith, but not always in the same latitude. For, first, in general, there are often mentioned *the Churches*, by way of plurality, *the Churches of God*, *the Churches of the Gentiles*, *the Churches of the saints*. (Acts xvi. 5. 1 Cor. xiv. 34. 2 Cor. viii. 19, 23, 24; xi. 8. 28; xii. 13. Rev. xxii. 16. 1 Thess. i. 4. 1 Cor. xi. 16. Rom. xvi. 4. 1 Cor. xiv. 23.) In particular, we find a few believers gathered together in the house of one single person, called a *Church*; as the Church in the house of Priscilla and Aquila, (Rom. xvi. 5. 1 Cor. xvi. 19,) the Church in the house of Nymphas, (Col. iv. 15,) the Church in the house of Philemon, (Philem. 2,) which Churches were nothing else but the believing and baptized persons of each family, with such as they admitted and received into their house to join in the worship of the same God.

Again, when the Scripture speaks of any country, where the Gospel had been preached, it names always, by way of plurality, the Churches of that country, as the Churches of Judea, of Samaria, and Galilee, &c. (Gal. i. 22. Acts ix. 31. 1 Cor. xvi. 1, 19. Rev. i. 11. 1 Thess. ii. 14. 2 Cor. viii. 1. Gal. i. 2.) But though there were several such Churches, or congregations of believers, in great and popular cities, yet the Scriptures always speak of such in the notion of one Church; as when St. Paul wrote to the Corinthians,

*to the Lord Christ, οἶκος Κυρίακος*, whence Kyriac, Kyrk, and Church. It first signified the house of the Lord, i. e. of Christ, and from thence was taken to signify the people of God, meeting in the house of God. And there seems to be this difference between the Greek *ἐκκλησία* and *οἶκος Κυρίακος*, that the former signifies the congregation met together in a place, and then the place where they meet; the latter signifies, first, the place where the congregation meets, and then the congregation that meets in that place.

“Let your women keep silence in the Churches,” (1 Cor. xiv. 34,) yet the dedication of his Epistle is, “Unto the Church of God which is at Corinth,” (1 Cor. i. 2.) So we read not of the Churches, but the Church at Jerusalem, the Church at Antioch, &c. (Acts viii. 1; xi. 22; xiii. 1; xv. 3; xviii. 22; xx. 17. 2 Thess. i. 1. Col. iv. 16. Rev. ii. 8, 12, 18; iii. 1, 7, 14.) From whence it appears, that a collection of several congregations, every one of which is in some sense a Church, and may be called so, is properly one Church by virtue of the subordination of them all in one government under one ruler. Thus in those great and populous cities, where Christians were very numerous, not only those of several Churches within the cities, but all those also in the adjacent parts, were united under the care and inspection of one Bishop, and therefore were accounted one Church.

Now as several Churches are reduced to the denomination of one Church, in relation to the single governour of those many Churches; so all the Churches of all cities and all nations in the world may be reduced to the same single denomination in relation to one supreme governour of them, and that one governour is Christ, the Bishop of our souls. Wherefore the Apostle, speaking of that in which all Churches agree, comprehends them all under the same appellation of one Church; and therefore often by the name of Church are understood all Christians whatsoever, belonging to any of the Churches dispersed through the distant and divided parts of the world. (Matt. xvi. 18. 1 Cor. xii. 28; xv. 9. Gal. i. 13. Eph. i. 22; iii. 10, 21; v. 23, 25, 27, 29, 32. Phil. iii. 6. Col. i. 18, 24. Heb. xii. 23.) For the single persons professing faith in Christ are members of the particular Churches in which they live, and all those particular Churches as members of the general and universal Church. (See Bishop Pearson’s Exposition of the Creed.)

The visible Church of Christ is well defined in our nine-

teenth Article to be “a congregation of faithful men, in the which the pure Word of God is preached, and the sacraments be duly administered, according to God’s ordinance, in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same.”

I. It is here said to be a *congregation*. Though it may consist of many *congregations*, yet it so consists of many, as still to be but one *congregation*; those many *congregations* being all built upon one foundation-stone, and all members of one and the same Head, and all agreeing in one and the same faith. And therefore, as the body that consists of many members is still but one body, so the Church that consists of many *congregations* is still but one Church.

II. But though the visible Church be a *congregation*, yet every *congregation* is not the visible Church. To distinguish, therefore, this from all other *congregations*, it is here said, “the visible Church is a *congregation of faithful men*;” it is a *congregation* of such men as profess faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, though they be not really faithful and holy. For it is this outward profession of faith in Christ that entitles us to Church-membership here on earth, though it is only the inward possession of Christ by faith, that entitles us to communion with the Church invisible in heaven. Hence it has been the constant practice of the Church in all ages, never to admit any into communion with it, but such as have either by themselves, or sureties, made such a profession.

III. But though the Church be always a *congregation* of faithful men, yet every *congregation* of faithful men is not a Church. Therefore, it is here said, “The visible Church is a *congregation of faithful men*, wherein the pure Word of God is preached, and the sacraments be duly administered according to God’s ordinance, in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same.” So that though there be a *congregation* of faithful men met together, unless the Word of God be truly preached, and the sacraments of Christ be duly administered in it, that *congregation* of faithful men is not a

Church. What we are to understand by being duly administered, the Article itself expounds to us, even that the sacraments be administered according to God's ordinance in all things that are of necessity requisite to the same; as that Baptism be administered, "in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost:" (Matt. xxviii. 19:) that the Lord's Supper be administered, according to Christ's institution, left on record for our imitation. (Matt. xxvi. 26, 27. 1 Cor. xi. 23—25.) That the Church is such a congregation wherein the Word is so preached, and the sacraments so administered, is plain from the fact, that the Word has been so preached, and the sacraments so administered, ever since it was a Church. As we may see in the Acts of the Apostles, where we can scarcely meet with the Church, but we find it either preaching the Word, chapters ii. iii. viii. xiii. &c.; or administering the sacrament of Baptism, chapters ii. 41; viii. 38; or breaking of bread, chapter ii. 46; &c.

Hence it is that the Fathers asserted, that the Church cannot subsist without Church officers, such whose duty it is thus to preach the Word, or administer the sacraments. *Do you, (says Ignatius,) \* reverence them as Christ Jesus, whose vicegerents they are, as the Bishop is also the type of the Father of all things, and the Presbyters also are as the assembly of God, and as the company of the Apostles of Christ joined together. Without these, there is no Church chosen, no assembly holy, no congregation of saints.*

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#### APPENDIX, No. 2.

Our Author's second instance of such a primitive Church as he has defined for us, is taken from an expression of

\* Τμεῖς δὲ ἐντρέπεσθε αὐτοὺς ὡς Χριστὸν Ιησοῦν, οὐ φύλακες εἰσιν τοῦ τόπου, ὡς καὶ ὁ ἐπισκόπος τοῦ Πατρὸς τῶν ὅλων τύπος ὑπάρχει, οἱ δὲ πρεσ-

Dionysius Alexandrinus, when he was banished to Cephro in Lybia. \* *There came so many Christians to him that even there he had a Church.* Here was a Christian Church, (or *Christian Assembly*, as the original word may be properly rendered,) and that in a place of banishment: and it is concluded, that it must needs have been such a Church as could meet together for religious worship in *one place only*, and no otherwise. Even supposing it were so, this would hardly prove, that Dionysius had no other notion of a particular Christian Church, than such an one as this, or even that he meant such an one in the quotation before us. By looking a little farther on in this continued relation of his, I think it will clearly appear, that he makes *his own particular Church*, a very different thing from it. The case was thus; the persecuting governour of the province, breathing out still greater threatenings against the banished Christians, ordered them all to be removed into the inhospitable region of Marceotis, and assigned to Dionysius himself quarters at a place called Colluthio. The holy Bishop was troubled at the thoughts of this change. For though he knew that region better than he did the other, yet they talked of it, as if there were not many Christian brethren, or indeed any sort of good men to be found there. But some of the faithful about me (says he) comforted me in this distress. And what were the arguments of comfort that they offered? Why they put me in mind of this, that Colluthio was a place still nearer to the city (of Alexandria;) and though I had such a concourse of brethren at Cephro, (he adds,) that I could

βύτεροι ὡς συνέδριον Θεοῦ, καὶ σύνδεσμος ἀποστόλων Χριστοῦ· χωρὶς τόντων ἐκκλησία ἐκλεκτὴ οὐκ ἔστιν, ὃν συνάθροισμα ἀγιον, οὐ συναγωγὴ ὁσίων.  
Ignat. Epist. ad Trall.

\* Dionys. Alex. apud Euseb. l. 7. c. 11. p. 259. Πολλὴ συνεπιδήμησεν  
[ἢμιν] ἐκκλησία.

*πλατυτέρους ἐκκλησιάζειν*, i.e. have a Church of a very large compass, even in that remote and desolate country, yet they told me I should enjoy more constantly, at Colluthio, the company of them I loved most, and counted dearest to me in the world. *Such as those* \* (they said) *would come and make their abode there, insomuch that there would be congregations of them in sundry places up and down, as in so many suburbs remotely situated from the city; and this I found to be very true*; i. e. such a concourse of Christians resorted to him there, and such distinct assemblies there were of them, during his abode in that place. Now if these distinct congregations of believers were under the spiritual jurisdiction and government of Dionysius alone, and were peculiarly his Church and people, by whose order and direction alone ministerial offices could be performed in each of them, and if none but † Presbyters and Deacons (as they are now subordinately taken) are mentioned besides in the whole narration, some accompanying him in his troubles, some wandering to and fro in banishment, and some particularly named with marks of honour, for attending their charge, and ministry in the city, in the heat of the persecution, (not to mention those Presbyters and Deacons whom Dionysius himself might have ordained, if the necessity of his Church required it,) then I think it needs no further proof, that this holy Father of the Church, could have had no such notion of a particular Church in his time, as our learned Author's quotation, out of this very narrative, has imputed to him.

There is one remarkable passage more, in the same narrative, which makes the point in question clearer still. Germinus, an invidious Christian Bishop, had reproached Dio-

\* Ἀφίξονται γὰρ καὶ ἀναπαύσονται, καὶ ὡς ἐν προστελέοις πορρότερω κειμένοις κατὰ μέρος ἔσονται συναγωγαῖς καὶ οὐτως, ἐγένετο. Euseb. ibid.

† Ἡκολούθησαν δὲ μοι συμπρεσβύτερος τε μου Μάξιμος, καὶ διάκονος Φαῦστος, καὶ Ἐυσέβιος, καὶ Χαιρήμων. Euseb. l. 7. c. 11. p. 210.

nysius, it seems, as if he had fled and deserted his Church of Alexandria, without holding any religious assemblies before he went off. This was indeed the pious custom at that time, when any persecution was visibly nigh at hand, to the end that catechumens might be baptized, the Eucharist administered to the faithful, and solemn exhortations to constancy and perseverance might be left with all, to prepare and fortify them against the impending trials. Now, how does the holy Bishop answer this charge? He first shews that his early apprehension and sudden condemnation left no time or means for him to perform any one of those ministerial offices by himself in person: but he immediately subjoins, that *by God's assistance he was not wanting in a visible assembly, but, \*with all diligence (says he) I ordered those in the city to assemble, as if I had been personally present with them, being absent indeed in the body, (as it is said,) but present in the spirit with them*: where he uses the phrase of the Apostle, who so governed and presided over Churches at a distance. Here is a solemn assembly then of the Christians in Alexandria, called together at the command of their absent Bishop, who had several congregations of his flock in and about the place, where his miserable banishment had confined him. The Presbyters in his absence, and by his order and authority, hold a religious assembly in the city itself. One only Bishop as chief pastor, and governour of these distinct and so far distant congregations, issues out all this while precepts and acts, and by the general language of the Catholic Church, and of the authentic historians of that time, is entitled Bishop of the particular Church of Alexandria, and that without partner or competitor.

\* Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῆς αἰσθητῆς ἡμεῖς μετὰ τοῦ Κυρίου συναγωγῆς ἀπίστημεν· ἀλλὰ σπουδαιότερον τοὺς μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει συνεχότους, ὡς συγάρ· ἀπὸν μὲν τῷ σώματι, ὡς εἶπον, [or, ὡς εἶπεν, as some copies have it,] παρὰ δὲ τῷ πνεύματι. Euseb. ib. p. 211.

## APPENDIX, No. 3.

Our Author brings two quotations to prove that the Apostles themselves ordained Pastors and spiritual officers, in the several Churches which they planted; and because the name of *Bishop* is attributed to them in both places, they are therefore to pass for Church-officers, not only equal in their Apostolical institution, but also in the fulness of their commission, powers, and order. Here lies the secret spring that governs the motions of the whole discourse; and if it were only set right by an even and unbiassed hand, the controversy would go on in a more regular and uniform manner on both sides. For if these Apostolical Church-officers, expressed by a common name, were but understood to be of a *different order* and degree by the very tenor of their first commission, as to the extent of powers, prerogatives, and jurisdiction, conveyed and assigned to each of them, (as I think the Epistles to Timothy and Titus alone would satisfy any sober Christian, that such a difference there really was,) the most entangled knot of the controversy would then be untied, and, upon the settling of that single point alone, perhaps multitudes of hitherto divided Christians would go hand in hand to the house of God, to the unspeakable joy and satisfaction of all good men.

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APPENDIX, No. 4.

Neocæsarea, the famed metropolis of Cappadocia, long before this time, was as happily stored with Christian oratories, as Rome itself could proportionably have been. For when St. Gregory, by the mighty hand of God upon him, had converted that city, the zealous citizens pulled

down their altars, temples, and idols, and in the room of them built everywhere houses of prayer in the name of Christ.\* The venerable Father of the Church who relates this, lived, I know, in the *fourth* century ; but since it is only an historical matter of fact, and that within the time prescribed by our Enquirer, I hope so unexceptionable an author as St. Gregory Nyssen may be allowed to bear testimony to it. And here I cannot help expressing regret, that all the glorious lights of the Christian Church in the fourth and fifth centuries, whose names can scarcely be mentioned without deference and respect by any true sons of the Church, must be wholly set aside, and (implicitly at least) stigmatised with innovation, in order to make way for our Author's *congregational scheme*. To the Basilis, Gregories, Chrysostom, Austin, or any of their contemporaries, he seems afraid to appeal, knowing too well how notoriously the Catholic Church (then acknowledged in the world, and ever since) had Dioceses and Churches of a very different constitution from his own.

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#### APPENDIX, No. 5.

The Enquirer's only salvo is, that *on solemn occasions, they were all to assemble still in one Church, and with their one Bishop together.* Of this neither Dionysius himself, nor the historian from whom he quotes it, say anything ; though we know it was a customary form, by which parochial Churches, for many ages, used to testify their wish and dependence upon their several Cathedrals ; namely, to communicate with them by proper representatives on the great festivals of the year. Whether the Church of Alexandria ever did more than this, (especially in St. Athanasius's time, from whence

\* Εὐκτηγένειος ἐπὶ τῷ ὄνόματι Χριστοῦ ραδος ἀνεγειρόντων. Greg. Nyssen. in vitâ Thaumat. Tom. 3. p. 567. Paris. Edit. 1638.

our Author tells us, he could bring his proof,) may easily be conceived: since the venerable Father affirms, \* that the whole region of Marœotis and all the Churches in it, belonged to the Bishop of Alexandria alone; that the Presbyters had their several portions of it, and each of them ten or more large villages under their particular care. What sort of congregation this whole region would make, with all the Christians in the great city of Alexandria, I leave to any reasonable man to judge.

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#### APPENDIX, No. 6.

That the Bishop of Antioch had a peculiar Church, or house of prayer for himself, as Bishop, to officiate in, need not be disputed; and this so peculiarly the Church's house, that so long as he was rightly possessed of that, he was possessed of the Church or Diocese whereof he was Bishop, and to be legally and canonically ejected out of it, was to be ejected out of the Church, having more or fewer congregations belonging to it, whether the Diocese were great or small. Thus, when Constantius, the Emperor, was resolved to eject† Paulus of Constantinople out of that Bishopric, he ordered Philip, the Prefect, to turn him only out of one Church; i. e. out of that single Church, where the Bishops of Constantinople used to reside and officiate, though there were several other Churches, built long before by ‡ Constantine

\* 'Ο Μαρεώτης χώρα τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐστί· τῷ Ἀλεξανδρείας Ἐπισκόπῳ αἱ Ἐκκλησίαι πάσσι τῆς χώρας ὑπόκεινται. Ἐκαστος δὲ τῶν πρέσβυτέρων ἔχει τὰς ἴδιας κύμας, μεγίστας, καὶ ἀριθμῶ δέκα ποῦ καὶ πλείονας. St. Athanas. Apol. 2. in Oper. vol. 1. p. 802. Edit. Colon. 1686.

† Τὸν μὲν Παῦλον τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἐκβάλλῃ, ἀνεισάγη δὲ εἰς ἀυτὴν Μακεδόνιον. Socrat. E. H. 1. 2. c. 16.

‡ Euseb. de vit. Const. l. 3. c. 48.

in that city, and an undoubted part of that Bishop's Diocese. But this single Church, or house of prayer, was so peculiarly the *Church's house*, that, by being dispossessed of that, he was entirely thrown out of the whole Church, or Diocese, of Constantinople. Many instances of this kind might be given, if it were necessary ; but I think the case is known to be the very same in respect of any modern Bishop's Cathedral at the present day.

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#### APPENDIX, No. 7.

Dionysius, of Corinth, testifies, that the single Church of Rome \* supported many other Churches in every city, relieving their poor, and maintaining their Christian slaves that were condemned to the mines. Nay, the other Dionysius of Alexandria affirms, that the whole † country of Arabia, and all the provinces of Syria, were abundantly relieved by the Church of Rome alone. Compute, then, the numerous Clergy, the list of widows, of the afflicted and poor, which, as we have just now seen, this single Church continually maintained at home ; and if *not many rich, not many noble were called*, one would be constrained to think, that legions, at least, of a middle fortune, must have been in it, to raise such extraordinary contributions. The judicious ‡ Mr. Mede also gives us a positive account of particular Churches, or *Titles*, (as they were then called,) that were founded in this Church of Rome in the second

\* Ἐκκλησίαις πολλαῖς ταῖς κατὰ πᾶσαν πόλιν ἐφόδια πέμπειν, ἐν μετάλλοις δὲ ἀδελφοῖς ὑπέρεχουσιν ἐπιχορηγοῦντας. Euseb. Eccl. Hist. l. 4. c. 23.

† Αἱ μέντοι Συγίσιαι ὄλχι, καὶ ἡ Ἀραβία οἵς ἐπαρχεῖτε ἐκάστοτε. Ibid. l. 7. c. 5.

‡ See *Mede's Works*, Book 2. p. 327. Edit. 4. 1677.

century, and quotes the very names and qualities of those who founded them. But enough, I trust, has been said to vindicate this imperial city from the hard imputation of yielding no better fruits of the Apostles, Saints, and Martyrs' blood, that was shed in it, than what amounted to a single congregational Church for three hundred years together.

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#### APPENDIX, No. 8.

That there were several Presbyters, as well as Readers, in the Church of Carthage, all St. Cyprian's writings plainly testify. Most probably they had several oratories to attend, especially in that state of dispersion which they were then in, when it is scarcely conceivable that they should have held so formidable an assembly, even if they could. And it is not a little remarkable, that St. Cyprian often complains of such and such Presbyters admitting the lapsed to communion, whilst others were commended for not doing so: which I think is not to be conceived, if they were all united together in one assembly.

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#### APPENDIX, No. 9.

Ptolemy distinguishes each of these places as separate regions; as does also \* Dr. Heylin, who tells us, that Plinthine and Hierax were the chief towns in the region called Marœotica. And how large a country it was, and distinct from Alexandria, the contrivance of the Arians

\* See Heylin's Cosmog. p. 929. Edit. 2. Lond. 1657.

shews, who set up Ischryas, the pretended Presbyter, for another Bishop there ; knowing, doubtless, that there was scope and district enough for another Diocese, even in the notion and practice of the fourth century ; for they never presumed so far as to make him Bishop of Alexandria itself.

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## APPENDIX, No. 10.

I presume it will not be disputed that the first spiritual rulers of the Church, the principal Apostles themselves, received a fulness of power for Ordinations, as well as every other part of their ministerial office, from Christ himself, whether before or after his resurrection, without any appearance of a popular choice or approbation in the case.

It is no inconsiderable circumstance to the point in hand, that the Catholic Church was thus founded upon governors and pastors ordained to rule over every part of it, before there was any formed Church, or settled congregation in the world, to have any hand in it. This comes as near the root of all divine right or power in Ordinations, as it is possible to do. We cannot reasonably conceive that those first plenipotentiaries of Church-power could understand their Lord's express commission to them, *as my Father hath sent me, even so send I you, (John xx. 21,)* in any other sense, than as a personal power to ordain others in the same manner, according as the occasion of converting all nations, and gathering Churches in them, (when there were none before,) most naturally required. That they did *so* understand, and *so* execute their commission is clearly shewn, by that one venerable record of antiquity,

which our Enquirer \* himself has singled out for the purpose of proving the contrary ; I mean St. Clement's first Epistle to the Corinthians, where he says,† *The Apostles constituted [or ordained] Bishops and Deacons for such as [were not yet converted, but] should, in some time to come, be brought over to the faith.* There needs no comment on this testimony ; for whatever *imaginary* people may be suggested to have borne a part in the election or ordination of such Bishops and Deacons, it is plain that the people over whom they were afterwards to preside, could have had none at all ; which is the only thing contended for, and should have been proved in the case before us.

But to return to Scripture evidence. As the principal Apostles themselves (according to the testimony of St. Clement, who was contemporary with many of them) unquestionably constituted and ordained Pastors in the Church, without any suffrage or election of the people ; so the Holy Scriptures affirm no less of such as were adopted into that sacred college, were dignified with that title by the Holy Ghost, and called of God himself to the holy function—I mean St. Paul and St. Barnabas, whose Ordinations are particularly recorded for us in Holy Writ. Thus, in Acts xiv. 23, we read that ‡ *when they had ordained them Elders in every Church, and had prayed with fasting, they commended them to the Lord, on whom they believed.* I know the original word, here used for this Apostolical Ordination, is strongly insisted upon by the advocates for popular election, as including in it the votes

\* See Enq. c. 3. §. 4.

† Οἱ Ἀπόστολοι—καθίσταντο τὰς ἀπαρχὰς αὐτῶν—εἰς ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους τῶν μελλοντῶν πίστευειν. Clem. ad Corinth. Ep. 1. pp. 54, 55.

‡ Act. xiv. 23. Καὶ χειροτονήσαντες δὲ ἀυτοῖς πρεσβυτέρους κατ' ἔκκλησίαν, προσευξάμενοι μετὰ ἡστειῶν παρέθεντο ἀυτοὺς τῷ Κυρίῳ, εἰς δὲ πεπιστεύκεισαν.

or the suffrages of the people, because it signifies the *\* stretching out, or holding up, of the hand* : which ceremony was commonly used by the ancient Greeks, to express such an action of the people in giving their voice or suffrage either in courts of judicature, or at the choice of magistrates. This is the main stress of all the glosses that I have met with, to evade the clear evidence of this text for the Apostles' ordaining those Elders by their own free *choice* and authority alone: I say *the clear evidence of the text*, for if there be any regular and grammatical construction of the holy penman's words to be allowed at all, it must necessarily be this ; that the same persons who held forth their hands for the act of Ordination, did, in the words immediately following, *commend the people, then present, to the Lord in whom they believed*. The word, *commended*, in the latter clause, and the persons who ordained (or stretched out their hands for orders, if we

\* Many Greek and Jewish writers (in and about the time that the New Testament was written) familiarly apply the same word, *χειροτονεω*, not to the votes or suffrages of a multitude only, but to the bare authoritative act of a single person, (nay even of God himself, as in Acts x. 41,) in constituting or ordaining officers to the respective places or purposes that they treated of. I might add also the received authorities of Christian Fathers, Historians, Critics, and Grammarians, who affirm the word to be so taken in the *ancient, Ecclesiastical* sense of it; insomuch that Suicer, who was friendly enough to popular elections, undertakes to prove by many testimonies and examples, that the *stretching out of the hand* included in it, imports no more than barely *creating, constituting, and designing* persons to the place or office intended for them, as distinct from suffrage and election; and at the head of many other authorities, produces this very text for a clear testimony and example of it. “ Exemplis et testimoniis præbemus *χειροτονεῖν* nihil aliud declarare quām *constituere, creare, designare*; patet hoc ex Act. xiv. 23, ubi de Paulo & Barnaba, *χειροτονήσαντες ἀυτοῖς πρεσβυτέρους κατ' ἐκκλησίαν*.” Suicer. Thesaur. Eccles. in verbo *χειροτονίω*, et in voce *χειροτονία*. Num. 2. They who would see a plain and compendious account of authorities to which I here appeal, need only read Dr. Hammond's annotations on this single text, and those of Bp. Beveridge on the first Apost. Can.

had rather so translate it,) in the former, having as direct a reference to, and connexion with one another, and appropriating the action of the one to the persons of the other, as entirely as it is possible for true syntax to do in any sentence whatsoever. And therefore unless the people *commended themselves to the Lord* in the latter clause, they could not be included among the persons, who stretched out their hands for Ordination in the former ; for they that did one, as clearly as language can make it, did the other also.

It might further be proved from the Holy Oracles, that as the Apostles received and exercised an ordaining power, independent of any popular election ; so they conveyed the same (without any such condition annexed to it) to the individual persons of some of the chief Pastors of the Churches which were planted by them. The two noted instances of this kind, mentioned in the sacred Canon, are *Timothy* and *Titus* ; in whose commission and instructions together, we might reasonably expect to hear of this material right and privilege of the people, (if such a right there were,) and, one would think, not without some solemn directions for a due regard to it, lest their Ordinations should prove defective and *invalid*, (after all the authority given them by the Apostle,) for want of this popular election. But that neither the commissions nor instructions they received for ordaining Bishops and Deacons in the Church, require or imply any such elections, will appear evident, I think from a few texts, which immediately relate to them.

The commission to Timothy is directly referred to in 2 Tim. ii. 2 : *The things that thou hast heard of me among many witnesses, the same commit thou to faithful men, who shall be able to teach others also.* The substance of the commission to Titus is to be found in Titus i. 5 : *For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldst set in order the things that are wanting, and ordain Elders in every city, as I had appointed thee.* Here nothing can be plainer than these three things :

1st. That there was a full right and power of ordaining Elders, invested in these primitive Pastors of the Apostolical Churches. 2ndly. That with regard to the execution of this charge, each of them is expressly specified and addressed, (*commit thou to faithful men, &c., and that thou shouldst ordain Elders, &c., as I had appointed thee.*) And 3rdly. That there is not the least direction, or so much as hint, or intimation, given to either of them to call in the assistance, or wait for the approbation of the *people* in the case, neither texts, nor contexts, if we look into them, suggesting the least idea of any such thing.

The larger instructions given by St. Paul to Timothy and Titus, for the due execution of their important charge, lie dispersed in the several Epistles addressed to them. Here, if any where, we might hope to find the *secret* of a *popular election* enjoined in their Ordinations: but instead of this, they had the strongest cautions given them *against it*. St. Paul, instructing Timothy in the genius of the people of the province, where he had placed him, plainly foretels, what they would one day do, if they were left to choose Pastors for themselves. *The time will come, (says he,) when they will not endure sound doctrine, but after their own lusts shall they heap to themselves teachers, having itching ears, 2 Tim. iv. 3.* This was a fair warning both to Timothy himself, and to his successors, that they should beware of trusting too much to the votes and suffrages of the people, especially in the particular affair of providing Pastors for themselves. That Titus had a similar caution appears from Tit. i. 12, where St. Paul confirms the Cretian Poet's hard testimony of his own countrymen, that *they were always liars, evil beasts, and slow bellies.* That the Apostle meant this, not of such as were unconverted only, but chiefly of such as were then become members of the Church, (and indeed of them alone, in respect of the use he made of it,) is manifest from the words immediately following, wherein he enjoins Titus *to rebuke*

*them sharply, that they might be sound in the faith.* This surely was to judge and censure them for it : which, if they were not members of the Church, had been contrary to his doctrine in 1 Cor. v. 12, where he disowns his right of judging them that are without ; *what have I to do, (he says,) to judge them that are without?* If, therefore, the lay-members of the Cretian Church had such a character as this fastened upon them by the Apostle himself, let any man judge what probability there is, that Titus should have it given him in his instructions to let the people choose their Pastors for themselves, or that he himself should take up that method in conferring Holy Orders on any in that island.

It is true, Timothy and Titus have this excellent instruction, that *Bishops and Deacons must be proved first, and found to be blameless* : 1 Tim. iii. 2, 10, and Tit. i. 6. This, no doubt, supposes a wise and careful trial to be made of the personal qualifications of every candidate for Holy Orders ; but after all, it leaves the whole matter to the discretionary judgment of the Ordainers themselves. And yet upon this indefinite advice, and single intimation, many advocates for popular election ground their plea for the necessity of an appeal to the votes and suffrages of the people in all Ordinations. Nay, our Enquirer himself, when \* he comes to the method of his consistory in examining into the life and conversation of candidates for Holy Orders, first of all tells us, *they were proposed to the people for their testimony*, and then he immediately subjoins the former of these texts, as an Apostolical canon, to countenance, if not to enjoin the practice of it.

In answer to which I observe,

1st. That the Apostles' meaning in that text appears not to be so, by the cautions given to Timothy and Titus.

2ndly. That the nature of the thing itself, namely, the

\* See Enquiry, p. 181.

\* qualifications required in this case, seem very unsuitable to such a popular or congregational inquest.

3rdly. That our Enquirer himself, when he most impartially explains his sense upon the subject, does not a little countenance the contrary opinion. *Ignorance and affection*, i. e. weakness in understanding, and bias upon the will,—these are the two qualities, which he † fastens upon the common people, even of primitive Churches and congregations in general. He was representing to us the primitive custom of neighbouring Bishops being called in, in order to give their consent to the people's election of a Bishop: and because it would eclipse the popular power, to declare the whole of their business, office, and authority, in constituting a Bishop over them, he smooths it over with this gloss: *I suppose* (says he) *the reason of their presenting him to those Bishops for their consent was this, lest the people, through ignorance or affection, should choose an unfit or an unable man for that office.* What manner of representation this is of an Episcopal part and office in primitive Ordinations, I shall not stop to observe: I only wish to make good the observation I raised from it to the present purpose, viz. that the Enquirer charges the congregation with suspicion of such *ignorance* and *affection* in the choice of their Bishop, that they needed better judges than themselves to be called in; as in another place, he makes them subject to *giddiness, envy, or pride.*‡ He may well apply the *weakness of their understanding* to the point of judging of the candidates' *human learning*; but the bias of their affection which he supposes to be in them, together with the other qualities of giddiness, envy, or pride, can never pass for a tolerable disposition in them to give their suffrage in judging of any other qualifications.

\* See Enq. p. 173.

† Enq. p. 191.

‡ Enq. p. 200.

## APPENDIX, No. 11.

We have seen that the Holy Scriptures place the entire power of Ordination in the persons of the governors of the Church. What account do we find of this matter in the records of primitive antiquity approaching nearest to the first age of the Church? Here we might produce a variety of instances, wherein neither election, nor so much as a convention of the people was to be found, or heard of, at the consecration of many of those primitive Bishops within that period of time. Clemens Romanus constitutes Euaristus, his successor, by his own assignment, and a kind of surrender (as it were) before his death; for so \* Eusebius's words plainly imply. Phædimus, Bishop of Amasea, had no other hand but that of heaven and his own, in making the renowned Gregory, Bishop of Neocæsarea: as all the circumstances of that affair, (related by the learned † Dr. Cave,) sufficiently shew. But not to dwell on particular cases, what sense, I ask, can we make of that very primitive canon of the Church, *which taxes the people of a Diocese with great iniquity, who would not receive a Bishop ordained for them, and sent to preside over them?* Nay, *suspended the Clergy of that city for not instructing such an insolent people any better:* (which are the express words of the thirty-sixth Apostolical ‡ canon). What sense, I ask, can we make of a canon, (which learned antiquaries have shewn to be of an earlier

\* Κλῆμις Ἐυαγίστῳ παραδοὺς τὴν λειτουργίαν ἀναλύει τὸν βίον. Euseb. Eccl. Hist. 1. 3. c. 34.

† See Dr. Cave's Life of Greg. Thaumat. §. 6. p. 271.

‡ Εἰς χειροτονηθεὶς ἐπίσκοπος—μὴ δεχθῆ, οὐ παρὰ τὴς ἑκυτοῦ γράμμην, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τὴν τοῦ λαοῦ μοχθηγίαν, ἀντὸς μέντην ἐπίσκοπος, ὁ δὲ κλῆρος τῆς πόλεως ἀφοριζέσθω, ὅτι τοιούτου λαοῦ ἀνυποτάκτου παιδεύται οὐκ ἐγίνοντο.  
Can. Apost. 36.

date than the third century,) if it were not usual in those primitive times to ordain a Bishop for a vacant See, without the people having any concern in it? And yet we need not insist upon this; for the constant and settled custom of the Church of Alexandria is so pregnant an instance in this case, as to supersede the necessity of all further enquiry in the matter. That the twelve Presbyters alone chose their Bishop there to the middle of the third century, is evident enough from St. Jerome's account. *At \* Alexandria, (says he,) from Mark the Evangelist to Heraclas and Dionysius's time, (who were the thirteenth and fourteenth Bishops there in succession,) the Presbyters always nominated one their Bishop, chosen from among themselves, and placed in a higher station.* To this evidence, add the same account given us, though more fully and particularly, by Severus, who wrote the lives of the Alexandrian Patriarchs, and by the Arabian and Egyptian annalists of that Church, as † Abraham Ecchellensis has recorded them for us; and we shall find it was not only a stated custom in that primitive Church for the Presbyters alone thus to choose their Bishop, but that it was a fundamental constitution there, and of St. Mark's own appointment. What must we think then? Could the people have had a general right, or charter of election granted them, either from Christ or his Apostles, and this holy Evangelist know nothing of it? Or, if he had known it, would he have established a standing rule, directly contrary to it, in that eminent Church founded by himself?

\* Nam et Alexandriae à Marco Evangelistā usque ad Heraclam et Dionysium episcopos, presbyteri semper unum ex se electum, in excelsiori gradu collocatum, episcopum nominabant. *Hieron. Ep. ad Euagr. Edit. Erasm. Basil. 1516. Tom. 3. Fol. 150.*

† See Abrah. Ecchellens. de Eccl. Alex. originib. Romæ, 1661. (4to.) c. 6. p. 82, 83, 84. & p. 103 to 107.

## APPENDIX, No. 12.

Supposing such an electing power ever belonged to the people, from whence, I ask, was it given, and by what authority was it claimed? We have found it neither employed by our blessed Lord, nor given in commission to his principal Apostles, who manifestly ordained both Bishops and Deacons, in such a manner as was inconsistent with it. We have seen, that the Apostles next in order to them, and adopted into their college, ordained Elders for the Churches, by their own personal authority and choice; and further, that St. Paul himself, being one of them, conveyed the like ordaining power to other supreme Pastors, placed by himself over the respective Churches which he committed to their care, neither enjoining nor advising them to make use of such a popular election, but rather cautioning them against it. And lastly, we have seen that in the ages following, and particularly in the great Church of Alexandria, for at least nearly three hundred years together, many Ordinations were performed without any such election at all. Whence then could such a right or power arise, but from the free consent and prudential laws or canons of ancient Bishops in some provincial Synods?—canons, which were binding only for a time, and were respectable, because prudential only, and obliged no further (as the Enquirer owns) than amongst themselves?

I know indeed that the common advocates for the congregational cause triumph in the cases of St. Matthias and the seven Deacons: where the people, (say they,) were not only *present*, but to all appearance, likewise absolutely chose the persons. Let us, therefore, consider these two plausible examples as fairly and briefly as we can.

As to that of St. Matthias, it seems a very unaccountable precedent for a standing practice, in whatsoever manner it was done; since, properly speaking, the foundation of the

Christian Church (as it is a spiritual corporation or society of believers) was not then laid, because the Holy Ghost was not yet given, who was to endue the very master-builders themselves with all that power and wisdom from above, by which they were to found and govern the Church of God upon earth. The eleven then present were *Apostles elect* by the infallible nomination indeed of their Lord and Master; but their commission was not yet sealed, nor were they furnished with those credentials and instructions, which the *Spirit* was to give them afterwards; insomuch that they presumed not to act in that extraordinary Ordination, as at other times, by their own personal judgment, but referred the determination to God alone, casting lots for it, and appealing to God by prayer. Is it probable that the votes and suffrages of the people should be sought for, in a case where the Apostles themselves durst not interpose, and where God himself made choice of his own Apostle?

But perhaps it will be said, that the brethren then present nominated, at the least, or proposed the two candidates; if so, it must still be granted, that their human suffrages could have had neither authority, direction, nor any kind of influence, upon a Divine election. And after all, the very nomination of the persons in the case of St. Matthias, will hardly, (if it can at all,) be proved to have been the brethren or congregation's part, by any thing we meet with in St. Peter's whole discourse. There were present about one hundred and twenty persons; and what St. Peter spake, was in the audience of them all; but *to whom* he immediately addressed his discourse, and imposed the obligation of providing a successor in the room of Judas, is another question, which the sense and substance of the speech itself can best resolve for us.

Now two expressions in it throw no small light on the subject:

1st. In speaking of Judas, who was fallen from his Apo-

stleship, St. Peter's words are these : *He was numbered with us, and had obtained a part of this ministry,* (i. e. of the Apostolic ministry). Was Judas thus numbered with all the brethren there present, as partaker *with them* of that Apostolic function ? or with St. Peter only, and the other ten Apostles, in the midst of whom he then spake ? Surely this latter sense alone is the utmost that the words can bear, when he says, *he was numbered with us :* and consequently they were his Apostolic brethren only, to whom he addressed them.

2ndly. In the directions he gives, as to the persons from among whom the successor of Judas should be chosen ; his expression is this : *wherefore, of these men which have companied with us, &c. Of these men !* Why not *of some amongst yourselves* ? if the persons to be elected, were not only to be chosen *from among them*, but *themselves* also to be the electors. The latter seems to be the direct expression for recommending the election to the brethren, and enjoining them likewise to elect one from among themselves : whereas, that, which St. Peter uses, is plainly an address to some other electors there present, to choose out of those very brethren before them ; pointing at them, as it were, by that natural expression, *out of these persons that have companied with us, &c.* We need no more, I think, to prove, that the Apostles there present, were the peculiar persons to whom St. Peter addressed his speech ; and I presume it will not be disputed, that those words, (at verse 23,) *and they appointed two,* referred likewise to *them*, and to *them only* : so that the people had no part even in the nomination of the persons to be proposed as candidates for that Divine election.

I know, that the title of St. Peter's address in these words of our translation, [*men and brethren,*] has not a little contributed to the contrary exposition of the whole discourse. But let it be considered, that the particle *and* is not in the original text, and is owned by our Translators

not to be so, by the different letter in which it is printed : and therefore the holy penman's language denotes no more, than if St. Peter had said, *my brethren* only. That the whole congregation were so in a *general* sense, is not to be disputed ; but then it is no less certain that the Apostles there present, were in a singular and more eminent sense St. Peter's *brethren*, as united with him in the Apostolic College. Since, therefore, the subject of the discourse appropriates the speech peculiarly to *them*, there is greater reason that that evidence should explain the meaning of an indefinite term in the title, than that the equivocal sense alone should determine for us otherwise, against the tenor of the whole discourse. And perhaps, the *Ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί*, on which the contrary is grounded, rather adds an emphasis in the title, to denote the sense we take it in : for I should consider it no exceptionable translation, if it were rendered thus, *Ye men that are peculiarly my brethren* ; which shews a kind of emphatical distinction of some there present from all the rest. On the whole, I think we might well subscribe to Grotius's conclusion in this case. \* *It is a wonder to me (he says) how some men have persuaded themselves, that Matthias was chosen by the people to his Apostolic charge ; for in St. Luke I find no foot-step of it.*

As to the case of the seven Deacons, no doubt the nomination of them was left to the brethren ; but in what particular respect, with what special limitations, and how far it may be made a precedent for the people's choosing their own Bishops and Pastors in the Church, a very short view of the matter *of fact* may inform us. For,

1st. To whatever offices the Apostles' imposition of hands might entitle those Deacons, it is plain that their

\* *Matthiam à populo ad Apostoli munus electum, miror quo argumento sibi quidam persuaserint, nam in Luca nullum ejus rei invenio vestigium.*  
*Grot. de Imp. Sum. potest. circa sacra, cap. 10. §. 5.*

referring the nomination of them to the brethren was upon the single score of finding out persons whom they could entrust with the contributions of the Church, for the daily ministrations, and for the serving of tables. That was the only thing in open agitation, and the Apostles assigned that special part to them; *look ye out men, &c., whom we may appoint over this business.*

2ndly. The Apostles do not leave the whole matter to the arbitrary and unlimited inclinations of the brethren; but enjoin them to choose persons *full of faith and of the Holy Ghost.* Not of faith, surely, with *the ordinary, inward, and sanctifying graces of the Holy Ghost,* (for those were not discernible, with certainty at least, by men,) but they were to choose believers endued with those miraculous gifts of the Holy Ghost, which our Saviour \* promised should follow some that believed; persons able to cast out devils, to speak with new tongues, heal the sick, and the like. By this limitation, they both secured God's approbation of their choice, and also provided persons fit for the greater offices in the Church, for which, by their Holy Orders, they designed them. These Deacons, so far as it was needful that they should be faithful stewards of the contributions of the Church, were ordered to be chosen and recommended by the members, with whose stock and treasure they were to be entrusted; and that doubtless for a reason similar to one which another Apostle gives on a similar occasion, namely, to † *avoid this, that no man should blame us in the abundance, which is administered by us.* To such sort of censures might the Apostles have been liable, had they assumed the nomination of the persons to themselves; but by the course they took, *they provided for honest things, not only in the sight of the Lord, but in the sight of men.* As to the qualifications required for those higher

\* Mark xvi. 17, 18.

† 2 Cor. viii. 20, 21.

offices of Evangelists, or preachers of the Gospel, to which the Apostles ordained those Deacons also, they had the *Divine testimony*, by the miraculous gifts bestowed on them ; and where that testimony was, (as St. Cyprian has already taught us,) there needed not the testimony of men. Accordingly, we do not find them so much as proposed to the people under that capacity, when it was referred to the brethren to make choice of them.

After these few observations on the case, I leave it to the reader to determine, how far this singular and extraordinary precedent can go towards establishing a standing right and authority in all Christian congregations, to choose their own *Bishops*, and *Pastors* for themselves ; only reminding him of the learned Beza's judgment, who, when he was treating of the people's right of suffrage in Ecclesiastical affairs, names these two instances of \* St. Matthias and the Deacons, and says of them, *that they are nothing to the purpose ; and that the French Churches had sufficiently proved that against Morell, and his party, in their public Synods.*

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### APPENDIX, No. 13.

The Enquirer proves indeed that St. Cyprian had a Consistory Council in his Church, and made some use of it in his Clerical Ordinations, (and doubtless, other Churches did so too). But as to the Candidates' petitionary application to that Council for Orders, and his suc-

\* Quod enim ex historiâ electionis Matthei et Diaconorum profertur, nihil ad rem facit—Sicut adversus Morellum et alios deinceps ejus sectatores in Synodis Gallicis est abunde probatum. *Beza Tract. Theol. Genev.* 1582. *Vol. 3, Ep. 83. p. 307.*

cess depending on their consistorial declaration in the case, and the people's authority to debar or exclude him, if considered unfit, and the Bishop's incapacity to ordain alone: all this our Enquirer allows his fancy to suppose, without the support of one single proof or authority; unless his quotation [chapter v. §. 12,] from St. Cyprian's 68th Ep. §. 4, must pass for a proof of the *people's* great interest and authority in Ordinations, but which has been before shewn to imply no such thing.

The Enquirer has suggested one particular more, immediately relating to this present case, which I shall briefly mention. In the close of the third chapter he observes, that *all Churches were not furnished with Presbyters, and especially new-planted ones, where either the number or the abilities of the believers were small and inconsiderable.* Of this I make no doubt; and therefore cannot but ask a few obvious questions about these newly-planted Churches. Can we think they were never so blessed with an increase of converts, as to stand in need of assisting Pastors to dispense the Word and Sacraments to them? Do we believe there was no authority in the single Pastors or Bishops, to whom those Churches were entirely committed, to supply that important want in them? Could the discipline of such Churches be executed by a joint Council of Bishop and Presbytery, (in the known catholic sense of such an Ecclesiastical body,) where no ordained Presbyters were? Or have we any precedent or rule, for the Bishops of such Sees to seek abroad in other Churches for necessary Ministers to assist them, in case they stood in need? Unless all this can be supposed, (besides what we have so liberally supposed before,) we must allow that single Bishops of those primitive Churches, had a power in their original commission to ordain assisting Elders for the necessities of their increasing flock or Diocese, and to execute the discipline of the Church, without a regular

Presbytery to give any kind of force or sanction to it. Of all this, the case of Titus's commission in Crete is sufficient evidence. That no Church Ministers of any denomination were settled there at that time, is quite in accordance with the sacred history: and therefore Titus must clearly have ordained in that island, without the assistance of any such Presbytery. Or if St. Paul had ordained any Elders in Crete before, that again would look favourably on the Episcopal prerogative, viz. that such a singular and peculiar Church governour as Titus was, should be nominated, and sent thither with that special article at the head of his commission, if *any* Presbyters or Elders, already resident among them, could have done it as well as he.

We have seen that all *ordaining power* was originally a *personal* trust, fully and entirely invested in the single persons of the first governours of the Church, by Divine and Apostolical institution, and so derived to their successors. Such being the case, if a candidate petitioned for Orders, one would think, it should be directly to the Bishop alone: or if for a *testimonial* of his qualifications, and moral conversation, the Presbytery might not improperly be applied to for it; or the more eminent of the people, for recommendations from them, no doubt, had a considerable influence on every wise and careful Bishop in the Church. Should the candidate not proceed in such a *form*, (which we have little evidence to prove that he did,) yet the Bishop's voluntary consultations with the Presbytery and people, like St. Cyprian's *commune concilium*, sufficiently supplied the want of that. To more than this, neither the Enquirer's own quotations, nor any other records of antiquity, which I have met with, amount.

## APPENDIX, No. 14.

It must be owned, that though the Apostles have fully asserted the Clergy's right to maintenance, and the necessity of dedicating some part of our substance to God in general, yet they are wholly silent as to the proportion of tenths. For this several reasons may be given: as first, that the Jewish priests were then in possession of the tithes, and it would undoubtedly have raised great commotions, and have very much hindered the progress of the Gospel, if the Christian Ministers had claimed that, to which others had a legal title. Secondly, their practice would have seemed inconsistent with their doctrine, if they had settled a constant maintenance for themselves, whilst they persuaded others to sell their estates for the service of the Church and the poor. Lastly, in that age the devotions of Christians was generally so great, that they very much exceeded the proportion of tithes in their contributions to the Church. Many of them sold their whole estates, and gave the price to the Apostles. (Acts ii. 44, 45; iv. 34, 35.) \* "It had been little to the purpose indeed" (says Mr. Selden) to have had tithes of annual increase paid, (and I may say required or demanded by the Church too,) while that most bountiful devotion of good Christians continued in frequent offerings, both of lands and goods, to such large value;" and this (as he observed) continued to the end of the fourth century. [History of Tithes, cap. 4. pt. 2. p. 40.] The primitive Christians performed the thing itself, in as direct, and more eminent a manner, than the true Church of God ever did, either before or since; and that by virtue of a natural, conscientious, and evangelical obligation lying upon them to do so, wherein the very essence and reason of the duty wholly consists.

\* See Selden's Review, annexed to his Hist. of Tithes, c. 4. p. 462.

In the next century, Justin Martyr, describing the great change which Christianity made in men's manners, has these words: \* *they who before were delighted with nothing so much as getting money, now bring what they possess to the common stock, and impart to every one who is in want.* Irenæus observes, † *that whereas the Jews consecrated a tenth, they who lived under the liberty of the Gospel, give all to the Lord's use.* And Tertullian, who flourished in the latter part of this century, affirms, ‡ *that Christians, in his time, used all things in common, except their wives; and that being joined to one another in heart and soul, they had never any dispute with themselves, about communicating what they had to one another.* So that hitherto there was no occasion to fix a certain proportion for the Clergy's maintenance, whilst men contended who should give most, and were ready to dedicate all they had to pious uses. But when the first love of Christians abated, the proportion of tithes came to be insisted on. Cyprian, who was Tertullian's scholar, complaining of the corruptions which had crept into the Church in his age, has these words: § *They (meaning the first Christians) sold their houses and lands, and, in order to lay up for themselves treasures in heaven, offered the*

\* *Apolog.* i. cap. xvii. p. 25. Edit. Oxon. Χειριάτων δὲ καὶ κτημάτων οἱ πόρους παντὸς μᾶλλον στέγοντες, νῦν καὶ ἡ ἔχομεν εἰς κοινὸν φέσοντες, καὶ παντὶ δέομένῳ κοινωνοῦντες.

† *Iren. lib. 4. cap. 34. p. 325. Edit. Oxon.* Illi quidem decimas suorum habebant consecratas; qui autem perceperunt libertatem, omnia quæ sunt ipsorum, ad Dominicos decernunt usus.

‡ *Tertul. Apolog. c. 39.* Ex substantiâ familiari fratres sumus.—Ita qui animo animâque miscemur, nihil de rei communicatione dubitamus; omnia indiscreta sunt apud nos, præter uxores.

§ *Cypr. Lib. de Unitat. Eccles. p. 85.* Domos tunc et fundos venabant, et thesauros sibi in cælis reponentes, distribuenda in usus indigentium pretia Apostolis offerebant. At nunc de patrimonio nec decimas damus, et cum vendere jubeat Dominus, emimus potius et augemus.

*price to the Apostles, to be distributed among the poor; but we now scarce give the tenth of our estates; and whereas our Lord has commanded us to sell, we rather buy and increase.*" Whence it is manifest, that in this Father's opinion, as well as the judgment of the Christians before him, the tenth of every man's possession, at the least, ought to be dedicated to God. And though he laments the growth of avarice among Christians, it appears that in the Church of Carthage, when he was Bishop there, the contributions were very large, and the Clergy enjoyed a plentiful maintenance. For he severely reproves their intermeddling too much in secular business, for this reason, because they had a competent allowance from the oblations of the Church; and he compares them to the Levites, who received their maintenance from tithes, without being put to the trouble of ploughing and sowing;\* and we find, that he contributed at one time, out of the Church's stock, a hundred thousand sestertia, toward the relief of Christian captives, which remained over and above what was expended for the Clergy's maintenance.† It were easy to produce many more testimonies to the same purpose; but these, I hope, will be sufficient to shew, that at least the tenth of what every Christian possessed, was set apart in the primitive ages for the service of the Church. What then is wanting to make the sense and practice of primitive and modern Christians agree in this matter, unless we amuse ourselves about forms and circumstances of a duty, and overlook the thing? So far as I can see, there is but little difference between us; except that there was no secular law to enforce the duty upon primitive Christians, as indeed it was scarcely possible there should be, all power of that kind being then lodged in the hands of persecuting heathens, from whence it were absurd to look for it: nor probably did any canons of the Church so explicitly enjoin the duty then as they have done since, for

\* Epist. 1.

† Epist. 62.

the reasons above mentioned. See Potter on Church Government, ch. 5. §. 9.

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## APPENDIX, No. 15.

The governors of the Church have received authority to exclude offenders by our Lord's positive institution. Upon Peter's confessing our Lord to be the Son of God, he declared first, that upon this rock he would build his Church, against which the gates of hell should never prevail; and then added: "And I will give unto thee" (i. e. to Peter, and with him to the rest of the Apostles) "the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven. (Matt. xvi. 19.) In which words the same thing is twice promised under different expressions: first, it is said, "I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven." Then, secondly, it follows as a consequence of Peter's having these keys: "Whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth," &c. For the understanding of the first of these expressions, it may be remembered, that the kingdom of heaven, in the Scriptural notion, is the Church of Christ, of which heaven is the principal part, whence the members of the Church are called citizens of heaven, (Philipp. iii. 20,) and fellow-citizens with the saints. (Eph. ii. 20.) And this kingdom is sometimes represented under the notion of an house, where some are admitted, and others excluded, according to their different merits. So that whosoever is entrusted with the keys of the kingdom of heaven, in the Scriptural sense of this phrase, has authority to admit into the Church, and to exclude from it. It is one part of the business of a steward, to take in servants, or to exclude them, as he shall find them fit, or unfit for his master's service. Thus God tells Eliakim,

(Isaiah xxii. 22,) "The key of the house of David will I lay upon his shoulder, so shall he open, and none shall shut; and he shall shut, and none shall open." The meaning whereof is, that he should be the chief officer in the King's household, and have power to take in and exclude whom he judged convenient. Accordingly we find (2 Kings xviii. 18) that the supreme power of the keys of the King's house was in the King himself, but that a subordinate power was entrusted to Eliakim, his principal steward. When we apply this expression to the Church, which is the antitype of David's household, the supreme power of the keys (i. e. the authority of admitting and excluding) belongs to Christ, "the Holy, which hath the keys of David," (Rev. iii. 7,) where a difference must be observed between "*the keys of David, and the keys of the house of David.*" Keys are an ensign of power, but that power is not all of one kind: it is greater or less, principal and independent, or inferior and derivative, and the several keys are emblems of these several kinds. David, we know, was a King, and independent of any on earth, and consequently the *key of David* denotes an independent supreme power, and that being applied to the Church, belongs only to Christ, in that prophetic expression (Rev. iii. 7.) But the *keys of the house of David* denotes an inferior power, that of a steward in David's family, which being perfectly subordinate to him, has yet the administration [the *διοίκησις*] of the affairs of his family intrusted to him. Now Christ is the original, and prime fountain of all power over the whole Church, (that spiritual kingdom of David,) to whom was given by the Father "all power in heaven and earth," particularly that of "loosing or remitting sin on earth." (Matt. ix. 6.) And this is by Christ here communicated to his Apostles, and their successors the Bishops in the Church, as so many several stewards.

This explanation is confirmed by the following words: "Whosoever ye shall bind on earth," &c. The expressions

of binding and loosing commonly signify imprisoning and releasing from prison ; to do which belongs to those who have the keys in their custody, (see Rev. xx. 1, 2, 3.) So that the power of binding and loosing, as thus explained, is a consequence of having the keys ; and when applied to the members of Christ's Church, it signifies authority to condemn them for their sins, or absolve them, which is the only way of imprisoning and releasing from prison in the spiritual sense of these expressions. There are some, who having observed that our blessed Lord here says, *Whatsoever ye shall bind, and not whomsoever* ; infer that this must not be understood of binding persons but things ; and by binding things, they understand making, or declaring them unlawful. And then the sense of the promise is, that Christ would hold unlawful in heaven, whatever the Apostles declared to be so on earth. This is not only a manifest force upon the words, but it is also untrue ; because the Apostles had no power either to make, or declare any thing to be unlawful, which was not before made and declared by Christ to be so. And therefore, though we do not deny that things are here expressed, yet we affirm that it is very common to put adjectives of the neuter gender instead of substantives, and so to express things, when persons are understood, of which many instances occur in all authors. Still if any persons incline to understand the word of things rather than of persons, the most natural sense, and that which is most agreeable to other passages of Scripture, will be this : *Whatsoever sins ye shall bind, (i. e. pronounce any man bound for,) and whatsoever sins ye shall loose, (i. e. acquit any man of upon earth,) the same shall accordingly be bound or loosed by me in heaven.* These words thus understood naturally follow the power of the keys of heaven, as before explained ; and both together imply, that whatever sentence shall be passed and declared by the governors of the Church, shall be satisfied by Christ whom they represent. Which is no

more than may be said of the vicegerents of any other prince ; that whatsoever they do or declare in his name, and by his commission, has the same authority as if it were done by the prince himself.

That our Lord promises the power of binding and loosing only to Peter and the Apostles, and in them to the governors of the Church in succeeding ages, is confirmed by a passage in the Gospel by St. John : “ As my Father hath sent me, even so send I you. And when he had said this, he breathed on them, and saith unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost : whosesoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them ; and whosesoever sins ye retain, they are retained.” (John xx. 21—23.) Where our Lord declares that he sends the Apostles in the same manner as the Father had sent him ; which can import no less, than that as he was sent by the Father with authority to found and govern the Church, so they should have the same authority under him. In order to this he confers on them the Holy Ghost, by whom all sorts of power are derived from God ; and gives them full authority to judge the members of his Church, as his vicegerents and ministers, promising to ratify in heaven the sentences which they should pronounce on earth ; “ Whosesoever sins ye remit,” &c. These expressions of remitting and retaining have the same meaning as those of binding and loosing. For retaining (*κερτεῖν*) implies holding fast, or taking hold of any person or thing, (Matt. xviii. 28 ; xxi. 46 ; xxvi. 4,) and therefore is sometimes joined with binding as being preparative to it. Thus Herod having laid hold on John, bound him, (*κερνόντας ἔδνοε*,) Matt. xiv. 3 ; and the Angel, who had the key of the bottomless pit, laid hold on the devil and bound him, (*εκερνόντος καὶ ἔδνοε*,) Rev. xx. 12. Sometimes the words retaining and binding, are used synonymous : whence the same Hebrew word is sometimes translated by the Seventy, retaining, (Dan. x. 8 ; xi. 6,) sometimes binding ; (Jer. xxxiii. 1;) and retaining (*κερτεῖν*) is set in

opposition to loosing from bonds, (*λύσαι*,) Acts ii. 24, and consequently signifies keeping men bound; and other authors commonly take it in the same sense with binding. So that we cannot doubt but that our Lord speaks of the same authority in this passage with that, which he had before promised under the names of binding and loosing.

Some are of opinion that nothing more is to be understood by these words, than that the Apostles were authorized to preach the gospel, which whoever embraced, should have his sins forgiven; and on the contrary, the sins of those who rejected the Gospel, should be retained, or punished. But this is a manifest force upon the words, which are never taken in this sense through the whole New Testament. Besides which, this power of remitting and retaining sins, (or as it is called in other places, of binding and loosing,) clearly implies a difference to be made by the Apostles; the sins of some men they were to remit, those of others to retain; whereas they were obliged to preach the Gospel to all nations, and as it is elsewhere expressed, to every creature, without partiality or distinction.

Others object, that the taking the expressions of remitting and retaining sin in the literal sense, would make men's salvation very precarious and uncertain, by putting it into the hands of Ecclesiastics, who through ignorance or partiality may condemn the righteous, and absolve the wicked, which would be true, if the governors of the Church, were the last and supreme judges; but we are to remember, that this judgment is only ministerial and subordinate to the superior tribunal of Christ, who will undoubtedly reverse any unjust sentence passed by his Ministers. So that neither they, who live up to the rules of the Gospel, need to fear the condemnation of any man whatever; nor they who transgress the laws of Christ, will better their condition by procuring absolution from his Ministers.

To this it has been sometimes replied, that if the case be thus, the wicked will neither fare any better for being acquitted, nor good men any worse for being condemned by the Church, and then the judicial power to which the Church pretends is vain and without effect. For the answering of which objections we need only consider the case of a good man unjustly excommunicated, or that of a wicked man, who having been justly excommunicated, afterwards becomes penitent. In the former case, the good man must plead his innocence, and use all proper methods to bring his judges to a sense of their mistake, with due respect and submission to their authority ; and if after this, he is not released by the Church, there is no doubt but he will be absolved by Christ, the supreme Judge. But if this person, instead of vindicating his own innocence, should behave himself undutifully to the Ministers of Christ, he would fall under the same sentence which would be passed in any civil court, on those who should revile their judges ; that is, he would be punished for his disobedience, let him be ever so innocent as to the crime laid to his charge. In the second case, it is certain, that a wicked man cannot become truly and fully penitent, without submitting to the Church. For repentance implies a sincere resolution of obedience to God in all things ; and this being one of God's appointments, that private Christians be subject to the Church, whoever does not submit to the Church's censures, however sorry he may seem to be for his former sins, cannot be truly penitent. Just as if one should believe the history, and be desirous to perform the moral duties of the Gospel, yet refuse to be baptized, and admitted into the Church's communion ; it is certain this man has not his sins remitted, let his resolutions in other respects be ever so commendable, because he wilfully neglects the visible ordinance to which Christ has annexed this privilege, and despises his Church : so in the present case, the Church's *just* sentences against men

will be confirmed by Christ in heaven, however penitent they may seem in other respects, unless they are absolved, or at least duly endeavour to obtain absolution on earth. For God will most certainly maintain his own institutions; and whoever expects to be saved in any other way than that which he has appointed, makes himself wiser than God. See Potter on Church Government, ch. 5. §. 8.

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#### APPENDIX, No. 16.

That which is commanded is a duty; that which is forbidden is a sin; but that, which is neither commanded nor forbidden, is *indifferent*, because it is neither duty nor sin, and we may either choose or refuse it without sin. For “where no law is, there is no transgression.” (Rom. iv. 15.) So that we may as well know by the silence of the law what is indifferent, as we may know by its authority what is a duty or a sin. For where there is no law for or against, the matter is indifferent. For instance, suppose there should be a dispute concerning days set apart for the service of God; how must this be determined, but by the law of nature or revelation? Now if neither the law of nature, nor the law of revelation, say any thing of the observance of such days, then we are at liberty to observe or not to observe them.

That indifferent things may be used in Divine worship, appears, 1st. From the consideration of the Gospel rules of worship, which (except what relate to the two sacraments) are taken from the nature of the things, and were the same in all ages; viz. such as respect *order*, *decency*, and *edification*. (1 Cor. xiv. 26. 40.) We are no otherwise bound, than all the world ever was; and therefore, since others have always determined the outward circumstances of worship, we have also the same liberty. The rules themselves are general, and

the Apostles rarely descend to particulars ; but whenever they do, they shew how far custom, charity, and the reason of the thing ought to govern us ; for they thought it impossible, or not worth while, to tie all nations to the same modes, since God may be honoured by one as well as the other. The general rules of *order, decency, and edification*, depend upon variable circumstances, and may be different according to those circumstances ; the particulars must be left to authority to determine. 2ndly. Our Saviour and his Apostles used indifferent things, which were not prescribed, in Divine worship. Thus he joined in the synagogue-worship, (Luke iv. 16. John xviii. 20, &c.) though (if the place itself were at all prescribed) the manner of the service was not so much as hinted at. Thus he used the cup of charity in the Passover, though it was not instituted. (Luke xxii. 17.) The Feast of Dedication was a human institution, yet he vouchsafed to be present at it. Nay, he complied with the Jews in the very posture of the Passover, which they changed to *sitting*, though God had prescribed *standing*. The Apostles also observed the hours of prayer, which were of human institution. (Acts iii. 1.) Now if Christ and his Apostles did thus under the Jewish law, which was so exact in prescribing outward ceremonies ; certainly we may do the same under the Gospel. 3rdly. If things indifferent, though not prescribed, may not be lawfully used in God's worship, then we cannot lawfully join with any Church in the world : for all Churches, in some instances or other, take the liberty of using what the Scripture has no where required. If we must have an institution for every thing done in the worship of God, and if we must join in nothing which has it not, then we cannot be members of any Church whatever. Nor do I see how a Christian can, with a good conscience, perform any part of God's worship, if this principle be admitted for true. For habits and gestures are not determined in Scripture, and God's worship cannot be performed without them ; and if they are unlawful, for *not being com-*

*manded*, then a man must sin every time he prays or receives the Sacrament. To the question, how we may know what things are indifferent in the worship of God, it may briefly be answered, that in things forbidden by human authority, the not being required in Scripture, and in things required by human authority, the not being forbidden in Scripture, is a rule, whereby we may know, what things are indifferent in the worship of God. Things are called indifferent from their general nature, and not as if they were never unlawful; for they are lawful or unlawful, as they are used and applied. A thing may not be required or forbidden by one law, which is by another; and that may be indifferent in one state which is not in another; and therefore when we say a thing is indifferent, we must consider the case and law which it respects. Thus to discourse about common affairs is a thing indifferent; but it is unlawful, when practised in the Church, and in the midst of religious solemnities. As there are certain rules, which we ought to respect in common conversation, and which even in that case ought to tie us up in the use of things otherwise indifferent; so there are some rules which we must have a regard to in the administration of Divine worship. And as in common matters the nature of the thing, in actions the end, in conversation the circumstances, are to be heeded, viz. time, place, persons, (as when, where, before whom we are covered or uncovered, &c.) so in sacred matters, the nature of the thing, in the decency and solemnity of the worship; the end for which it was appointed, in the edification of the Church; and the peace, glory, and security of that, are to be respected. By these rules we are to judge of the indifferency of things in God's service.

As particular persons, we may forbear to use what is indifferent, when no law of man requires it; and we may freely use it, when no law of man forbids it. In our conversation with others we must so use our liberty, as shall be less to the prejudice, and more to the benefit, of those with whom we

converse. We may act or forbear in compliance with persons of weaker judgment. But as we are members of a Church, we should comply with its customs, observe its directions, and obey its orders without reluctance and opposition. To stand in opposition is not only an offence, but an affront; it is to contend whether we or our spiritual superiors shall govern: "Obey them that have the rule over you, (says an inspired Apostle,) and submit yourselves." (Heb. xiii. 17.) We are then properly said to *submit ourselves* to those that have the rule over us, when, though we think we have reason not to like what is commanded, yet out of deference and due respect to authority, we submit our own judgments and opinions to those of our governors, and yield obedience to the thing commanded, though we cannot cordially approve of it. And surely such a submission is no less than what is absolutely necessary to preserve the peace of the Church, which as it is of the highest consequence to the Church's welfare, so cannot but be quickly broken, if every one should be left free to follow his own private judgment and opinion in matters not determined in the Scriptures. The Apostle elsewhere exhorts the members of particular Churches to *know*, (that is, submissively to own the authority of,) *those that were over them in the Lord.* (1 Thess. v. 12.) By all which it is evident that Christians are by Divine authority subjected to the authority of their spiritual governors, and obliged in all things to obey them, wherein they are not countermanded by Christ himself. So that though one particular Church may refuse the impositions of another, and that not only as they are sinful, but as they are impositions, because the other has no lawful authority over it; yet it is by no means lawful for the subjects of any particular Church to disobey their Church governors in any *lawful* matter; because being subjected to their authority by Christ, the supreme Head of the Church Universal, they are obliged to submit to them as to his substitutes and vicegerents in every thing which he has not antecedently pro-

hibited. And if rather than do so, they shall choose to revolt from the communion of their Church, they are schismatics, or, which is the same thing, they are rebels against Christ's authority in that particular Church from which they revolt. For what faction is in the state, that is schism in the Church, viz. an *unjust* opposition to authority ; the one to Christ's civil authority invested in our magistrates, the other to his spiritual authority invested in our Bishops and Ecclesiastical governors. See Bennet's Abridgment of the London Cases, ch. 2.

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APPENDIX, No. 17.

The relation between each particular Church and the Universal Church, says our Enquirer, in general was this, "that as one member of the natural body has a regard to all the other members thereof, so a particular Church had respect to the other members of the Church Universal." The Church is called in Scripture not only a *body*, with respect to the union and order of its parts, but also a *spiritual building*, an *holy temple*, and the *temple of God*. The Jewish Church was but *one*, and therefore the Christian, which is grafted into the Jewish, is but one. The Church is called the temple of God, and the temple was but *one* by the command of God. Christ also tells us, that there should be but *one fold under one Shepherd*. (John x. 16.) Indeed it is absurd to say that the Christian Church, which has the same foundation, the same faith, the same promises, the same privileges, should be divided into separate bodies of the same kind : for where every thing is common, there is one community. It is true, distinct *men*, though of the same common nature, have distinct essences, and this makes them distinct persons ; but where the very essence of a body or society consists in having all things

common, there can be but *one* body. And therefore if *one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all*, be common to the whole Christian Church, and if no Christian has any peculiar privileges; then there is but *one* Church. Again, the Church is a society united to God and themselves by *a Divine covenant*. It is united to God, because it is a religious society; and the men are united to themselves, because they are one society. But the thing to be observed is this, that the union is made by a Divine covenant. God made a covenant with Abraham, of which circumcision was the seal; and the Christian Church is nothing else, but such a society of men as are in covenant with God through Christ. I suppose all men will allow, that God only can make a Church; and that the only visible way he has of forming one, is by granting a *Church covenant*, which is the Divine charter whereon the Church is founded; and by authorizing some persons to receive others into this covenant, by such a form of admission as he shall institute, which form under the Gospel is Baptism: so that to be taken into covenant with God, and to be received into the Church, are the same thing; and he is no member of the Church, who is not visibly admitted into God's covenant. Hence it follows, that a covenant state and a Church state are the same thing;—that every professed Christian, who is received into covenant, as such, is a Church member;—that no Church state can depend on human contracts and covenants, and that therefore the *Independent* Church covenant between Pastor and people is no part of the Christian Church covenant, because it is no part of the baptismal vow, which is one and the same for all mankind, and the only covenant which Christ has made;—that it is absurd to gather Churches out of Churches, which already consist of baptized persons;—and that if the Church be founded on one covenant, then the Church is but one. For those that have an interest in the same covenant, are members

of the same Church ; and though the Universal Church, for man's convenience, be divided into several parts or congregations, yet it cannot be divided into two or more Churches. A prince, indeed, may grant the same charter to several corporations ; but if he confine his charter to the members of one corporation, those who separate from that corporation, forfeit their interest in the charter. Thus God has granted a charter or covenant, and declares that by this one covenant he unites all Christians into one Church, into which we are admitted by Baptism : if, therefore, we separate from this one Church, we forfeit our interest in it. God has not made a particular covenant with this or that Church, but with the one Catholic Church : we must, therefore, live in unity with it, or we have no right to the blessings promised to it. Now to be in communion with the Church is to be a member of it. And this is called *communion*, because all Church members have a common right to Church privileges, and a common obligation to the duties of Church members, viz. obedience to the Church's authority, joining in prayers, &c. It is true this word *communion* is commonly used to signify praying, hearing, and receiving the sacraments together ; but, strictly speaking, those offices are not communion, but an exercise of communion. Church communion is Church union ; for as a member must be united to the body, before it can perform the natural action of a member ; so a man must be in communion with the Church, before he has a right to perform the offices of Church society.

From what has been said we may observe, that Church communion principally respects not a particular, but the Universal Church, which is but one over all the world. For membership may extend to the remotest parts of the world, if the body, whereof we are members, reach so far : and Baptism makes us members of the Universal Church, because it admits us into the covenant which God made with the

Universal Church. Every act, also, of Christian communion, such as receiving the sacraments together, &c., is an act of communion with the whole Catholic Church, though it must be performed in a particular congregation, because all Christians cannot meet in one place. Thus do we as fellow-members pray to God, the *common* Father of Christians, in the name of Christ, the *common* Saviour of Christians, for the same *common* blessings, for ourselves and all other Christians. Thus also the Supper of the Lord is not a private supper, but the *common* feast of Christians, and an act of *Catholic communion*. The only reason why we are bound to live in communion with any particular Church, is because we are members of the whole Christian Church. For we must live in communion with the whole Christian Church ; and this cannot be done without actual communion with some part of it. So that we have nothing else to do, but to consider, whether that part wherein we live be so sound, that we may lawfully live in communion with it ; and if it be, we are bound to do so under the peril of schism from the Catholic Church. If at any time we separate from such a sound part, we separate from the whole Church, because the communion of the Church is but *one*. Hence it appears that those Churches which are not members of each other, are separate Churches ; because the Catholic Church being but one, all particular Churches ought to be members of it. Every particular Church, indeed, must have its limits, as every member in the body has its proper place ; but when there is one Church within the bowels of another, it is a notorious schism. Distinct Churches at a distance may be of the same communion ; but distinct Churches in the same place can never be so. All separation from a Church wherein we live, unless there be necessary reasons for it, is schism.

It is true, a nation may permit those foreigners that are among them, to model their congregations according to

the rules of those Churches, to which they originally belong; and that without any danger of schism. For a bare variety of ceremonies makes no schism between Churches, while they live in communion with each other. Now every particular National Church has authority over her own members to prescribe the rules of worship: but as she does not impose upon other Churches at a distance, so she may allow the same liberty to the members of such foreign Churches, when they live within her jurisdiction. For though all true Churches are members of each other, yet each Church has a peculiar jurisdiction; and therefore for the Church of England to allow foreigners to observe their own rules, is not to allow separate communion, but to leave them to the government of the Church, to which they belong. So that distinct congregations of foreigners, who own the communion of our Church, though they observe the customs of their own, are not schismatical. But though two Churches may be in communion with each other, and yet not actually communicate together, because distance of place will not permit it; yet it is impossible that two Churches, which, from a professed dislike, renounce each other's communion, or at least withdraw ordinary communion from each other, should still continue in communion with each other: because they are opposite societies, founded upon contrary principles, and acting by contrary rules, and pursuing contrary ends, to the ruin and subversion of each other. Those again are separate Churches, which do not own each other's members as their own. The Christian Church is but *one* household and family; and whoever makes two families of it, is a schismatic. If Christians in the same kingdom hold separate assemblies under distinct kinds of government and different governors, and condemn each others' constitution and modes of worship, and endeavour to draw away members from each other, they cannot be thought to

be *one* Church. Indeed we may as well say, that several sorts of government in the same nation, with distinct governors, distinct subjects and distinct laws, that are always at enmity and war with each other, are but one kingdom ; as we may say, that such congregations are but one Church. See Bennet's Abridgment of the London Cases, ch. 1. §. 1.

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## APPENDIX, No. 18.

Nothing less than sinful terms of communion can justify our separation from the Church whereof we are members ; for otherwise there would be no end of divisions, but men might new model Churches as often as their fancies altered. It is true a particular Church may be so corrupted, as that its members may be obliged to disunite themselves from it. For every man is obliged, by virtue of his being in any society, not to agree to any thing which tends to the apparent ruin of it. So that if any act that is apparently sinful, be enjoined by the particular Church whereof we are members, as a necessary condition of our communion with her, we are bound to abstain from it, for the sake of the general end of Christian society, which is the honour of God, and the salvation of souls. For instance, suppose the Church whereof we are members, require it as a condition of our communion, that we should transgress any just law of the commonwealth whereof we are subjects ; in this case we are bound rather to desert that Church's communion, than live in wilful disobedience to the civil authority. Again, supposing one National Church to be subject to another, that which is subject is bound to refuse the communion of that which is superior, if it cannot enjoy it without complying with impositions that are apparently sinful. This is evidently the case between us and the Church

of Rome, supposing that *de jure* we were once her subjects and members: for had we been so, we should doubtless never have separated ourselves from her, could we but have separated her sins from her communion; could we have professed her creed without implicitly believing all her cheats and impostures, or submitted ourselves to her guides without apparent danger of being misled by them into the pit of destruction, or joined with her public services without worshiping of creatures, or received her sacraments without practising the grossest superstitions and idolatries. But when she made it necessary for us either to sin with or separate from her, we could have no other honest remedy but only to withdraw. And if in this our separation there had been a sinful schism on either side, we could have appealed to heaven and earth, *whose* the guilt of it was; theirs that forced us upon it, or ours that were forced to it. But yet the case of our separation from the Church of Rome is very different from that of the separation of private members from their own particular Churches. For we affirm that the Church of Rome is but a particular Church, whose authority extends no farther than to its own native members, and consequently has no more power to impose laws of communion upon us, than we have upon her; our particular Church being altogether as independent of her, as she is of ours.

The case of private members, whether of our or any other particular Church, is vastly different. For if we will allow particular Churches to be so many formed societies of Christians, (as we must do, or else degrade them into so many confused multitudes,) we must necessarily allow them to have a just authority (even as all other formed societies have) over their own members. That they have such authority, is evident, not only from the nature of the thing, but also from Scripture, where the Bishops and Pastors of particular Churches are said to be constituted by the Holy Ghost *oversers* of their particular flocks; which word both in sacred and

profane writings denotes a *ruling* power. Accordingly these overseers are elsewhere called *ruling elders*, (1 Tim. v. 17,) and the subjects and members of their Churches are required to "obey them, as those that have the rule over them." It is true in some cases, as I hinted before, withdrawing from the communion of a Church may be so far from being a rebellion against Christ, that it may be an act of duty and obedience to him. For where Christ who is our supreme Lord, and our Ecclesiastical governors who are in authority under him, command things that are directly inconsistent, we are doubtless bound to obey him rather than them; yea, though their commands are not inconsistent in themselves, yet if we are fully persuaded they are, it is all one to us. For when we do what we *falsely* believe Christ has forbidden, we are in *will* as much rebels against his authority, as when we do what we *truly* believe he has forbidden. And by not complying with our spiritual governors, out of an innocent mispersuasion that what they command is unlawful, we *formally* and in *will* as much obey Christ in so doing, as if it were *really* unlawful. So that in short, when the governors of the Church whereof we are members, impose as the conditions of our communion, things that are either unlawful *in themselves*, or that, after *due examination*, we verily *believe* are unlawful, we are bound in obedience to the authority of Christ, rather to desert that communion, than to comply with the terms and conditions of it. But since to desert the communion of a Church is a matter of great moment, it ought not to be done without the greatest caution and tenderness. For he that rejects sinful terms of communion without just inquiry and sufficient examination, is formally as much a schismatic, i. e. he is as much a rebel in *will* against Christ's spiritual authority in his Church delegates and vicegerents, as he that rashly rejects innocent and lawful ones. For had it been only the *sinfulness* of the conditions that displeased him, he would have made conscience before he presumed to reject it, duly to

inform himself whether it were sinful or no ; but by thus rejecting it at a venture, without a due inquiry into the nature of it, he plainly shews that it was not so much the *sin* that displeased him, as the *authority* that imposed it ; and that it was not his *conscience* that took offence at it, but his *humour* ; and consequently that he would have had the same *dislike* of it, though it had been *lawful* and *innocent*. For conscience, being an act of the judgment and reason, cannot be offended without reason either real or apparent ; and without making a due inquiry into the nature of the thing we are offended at, we can have no reason that will either warrant or excuse our offence. Wherefore, before we reject the conditions of our Church's communion as sinful, we are obliged, under the penalty of wilful schism, impartially to inquire what is to be said *for*, as well as *against* them ; and where we are capable of judging, to peruse those arguments that make for the one side as well as the other. For unless we do so, it is plain that we are biassed by a factious disposition, and that we have a great inclination to separate from the Church's communion.

If the matters which she imposes are such as a plain and illiterate communicant cannot judge of, nor comprehend the force of the reasons that make for or against them, such persons in such cases are obliged humbly to acquiesce in the Church's authority, and not blindly to separate from her, they know not why. For instance, suppose the matter imposed should be such a form of government, or such modes of discipline, or rights and circumstances of Divine worship, as carry no such apparent evil in them, or express contradiction to any command of our Saviour—in such matters as these, where he cannot judge for himself, what must an unlearned communicant do ? Why he knows very well, that in all lawful things, it is his duty to submit to the governors of his Church, and reverence Christ's authority in them ; but whether

the above-named matters which they impose be lawful or no, he neither does nor can know. So that if upon the score of these impositions, he rejects the Church's communion, he rejects it he knows not why; and to avoid doing that which he does *not* know is a *sin*, he refuses to do that which he *knows* is a *duty*. Whether that which the Church imposes be lawful or no, it is apparent rebellion in him to refuse it; because, for all that he knows, it is lawful; and though it should be unlawful, yet that cannot be the motive of *his* non-compliance with it, who does not *understand* the reasons that make it so. He, therefore, that separates from the communion of the Church for causes that he cannot judge of, must necessarily separate without reason; he can have neither true nor false pretence for his separation, because the arguments for and against are beyond the sphere of his cognizance; and consequently, if he thereupon withdraws from the Church's communion, it is not because he *cannot* comply with her *sinful impositions*, but because he *will not* submit to her *just authority*. Whereas, by modestly submitting *our* judgment to the Church's, in cases where we cannot judge for ourselves, we take an effectual course to secure our innocence. For though that which the Church enjoins should be naturally sinful, yet to us who neither do nor can understand it to be so, it will be imputed only as an innocent error; because by following the *Church's* reason, where *our own* cannot guide us, we take the best course we can not to be mistaken. And if we should be mistaken, we have this to excuse us, that it was by following an authority which God himself has set over us; whereas if we are mistaken on the other side, we are left altogether inexcusable.

There may indeed be other conditions of Church communion, of whose lawfulness a communicant may be *in doubt*, though he be not confidently persuaded of it: what

is to be done in this case? To which I answer, that in cases of a *doubtful* nature, it is both modest and safe to subscribe to the judgment of our superiors; because in so doing we have not only our own ignorance to excuse us, but their authority to warrant us. And if we should happen to be in the *wrong*, through our *modesty and humility*, it will be safer for us than to be in the *right* through our *pride and self-conceit*. But perhaps the probability of our side may be so great, or at least seem so to us, that though we give all due respect and deference to her authority, we cannot forbear *doubting* of the lawfulness of her conditions of communion. If so, then we should consider it is as much our duty to *obey* her commands in things that are *lawful*, as *not* to obey them in things that are *unlawful*; and therefore if we only *doubt* whether her commands be lawful or no, our doubt ought to make us as fearful of *disobeying*, as it does of *obeying* them, because the danger of sinning is on both sides *equal*. In this case, therefore, wherein we are necessitated to determine ourselves one way or the other, it is doubtless our duty to determine on that side which makes most for the Church's security and peace, which, next to the honour of God, and the salvation of souls, ought to be preferred above all things.

The sum of all therefore is this, that it is our duty to continue in strict obedience to, and communion with, that particular Church whereof we are members, so long as it enjoins nothing that is plainly and apparently sinful; that if either we cannot judge of the sinfulness or lawfulness of her conditions of communion, or only doubt of their lawfulness, we are bound to submit to her judgment and authority, and not to separate from her, till, upon an impartial inquiry into the reasons of both sides, we are fully convinced that those conditions are sinful.

## APPENDIX, No. 19.

By the particular survey, which has been taken of the *justifiable causes of separation* from a Church, &c., it is no hard matter, I think, to know what schism is, and, in every division of the Church, who are the schismatics. The learned Enquirer, indeed, differs widely from the primitive Church about it, in the case of non-essentials, but then he differs also from himself. According to him all imposers in that case are schismatics of the highest nature: he taxes them with *cruelty, tyranny, violation of the Church's concord, &c.*; and yet in his own account of the discipline of the primitive Church, he shews us that there was as much imposition of that nature practised then, as he can any where complain of in any orthodox Church now. His account of primitive provincial Synods is this: *They were assembled, amongst other things, for resolving all difficult points that did not wound the essentials of religion.* (Enq. ch. viii. §. 9.) What were those *resolutions* but so many determinations one way or the other, as to what the Churches of the provinces they belonged to should believe, in such non-essential matters as they so considered and resolved? especially since he further adds, that *what they there enacted, they decreed to be observed by all the faithful of those Churches whom they represented, or by all the members of them.* (Ibid.) Now this right of debating non-essential points in Ecclesiastical Councils, of resolving and determining about them there, and requiring all the Churches to which they belonged, to acquiesce in such Synodical determinations, is all the imposition that any orthodox Church, primitive or modern, can be charged with, in *any difficult points that wound not the essentials of religion*; and, therefore, I cannot see with what sort of imposers the Enquirer can be so highly angry in this case, without reflecting on the sacred Synods of the primitive Church.

## APPENDIX, No. 20.

The secret of our Enquirer's singular way of reasoning seems to lie here. Some charitable expedient was to be found out to support certain schismatics with the comfortable hope, that though they broke the unity of the *particular Church* whereof they were members, yet that they might still continue in the unity of the *Church Universal*; especially if the points in controversy between them were matters only of rites or non-essentials. If the unity of the Episcopacy had been admitted for an essential bond of Catholic unity, (as it really was in the judgment of the primitive Church,) that *comfortable expedient*, and this whole *scheme of diversity of unities*, had been lost together; as appears, I think, by the particular account which has been given of them.

In the eighth chapter the Enquirer gives us a just account from antiquity of the admirable harmony and mutual correspondence of every particular Church with one another in those primitive times. So blessed a precedent of unity throughout the Catholic Church, every succeeding age, however degenerate, must venerate; and all good men must lament the fatal breaches which uncharitable schisms have made in it since, and with a holy, though hopeless, emulation, I fear, in these divided times of ours, must wish and pray to see such heavenly concord in the Churches upon earth again. Yet however irrecoverable so great a blessing may seem to be, let every disciple of the peaceful Jesus, so far contribute to it still, as to ask his own heart, with all the strictness and sincerity he can, what occasion he in particular has given for so sad a change—let him be persuaded to imitate more closely, for the time to come, the primitive Christians in the peaceableness of their temper and disposition; and

let him earnestly entreat the Prince of Peace, and God of Love, to heal our breaches, to compose our differences, and cause us “with all lowliness and meekness, with long-suffering, to forbear one another in love, endeavouring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.”

F I N I S.

AN

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Z.

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## CORRIGENDA ET ADDENDA.

### THE ENQUIRY.

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1, last line for <i>examin</i> , read <i>examine</i>	98, line 26, for <i>apparant</i> read <i>apparent</i>
10, line 2, after $\alpha\delta\epsilon\lambda\phi\omega$ add ,	114, line 1 after <i>because</i> add <i>in it</i> ,
13, — 6, after <i>Tertullian</i> add ,	132, — 6, for <i>was</i> read <i>were</i>
21, — 11, for <i>whatsoever</i> read <i>whatsoever</i>	192, — 4, after <i>tho'</i> add <i>he</i>
47, line 11, for 7 read 8	196, — 29, for <i>bear</i> read <i>hear</i>
71, — 1, for <i>assailed</i> read <i>assoiled</i>	231, — 6, for <i>shuning</i> read <i>shunning</i>
	290, line 21, for <i>ordinary</i> read <i>ordinarily</i>

### MARGIN.

The Reader is apprised that the long list, immediately following, does not consist wholly or chiefly of errors of the press: a considerable portion here noted (indeed nearly the whole) are errors copied from the margins of the original editions of the Enquiry, but which the Editor, for obvious reasons, has not thought fit to alter in the body of the reprint, especially as he was unable to meet with the particular editions of the Authors quoted by the Enquirer. The Editor ventures to hope that the correction of any inaccuracies which may have escaped his notice, will be kindly supplied by the Reader himself.

2, line 2, for $\pi\epsilon\omega\tau\omega\omega$ read $\pi\epsilon\cdot$ $\epsilon\omega\tau\omega\omega$	18, line 1, after <i>ordinatum</i> read <i>itidem</i> :
line 5, for 2 read 3	— 1, for <i>proinde</i> read <i>pe-</i> <i>rinde</i> , and add <i>et ceteræ</i> after <i>utique</i>
— 8 and 13, for $\Theta\epsilon\omega\omega$ read $\Theta\epsilon\omega\omega$	29, line 3, after $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\sigma\chi\omega\pi\omega\omega$ add ,
5, line 15, for <i>Padag.</i> read <i>Pædag.</i>	32, line 1, for $\pi\epsilon\omega\sigma\sigma\eta\pi\epsilon$ read $\pi\epsilon\omega\sigma\sigma\epsilon\pi\epsilon$
9, line 13, do. do.	
17, line 12, dele <i>habens</i>	

Page.	Page.
33, line 1, for <i>προσευχη</i> read <i>προσευχὴ</i>	91, line 11, for <i>μεταχοινῆς</i> read <i>μεταχοινῆς</i>
34, line 3, after <i>γὰς</i> add ,	93, line 2, after <i>ordinatur</i> dele .
37, line 2, for <i>celebramus</i> read <i>celebremus</i>	and insert ,
38, line 3, after <i>γίνεται</i> insert <i>καὶ ἡ</i>	94, line 9, for <i>deferetur</i> read <i>deferretur</i>
40, line 5, for <i>μία εὐχαριστία</i> read <i>μίᾳ εὐχαριστίᾳ</i>	98, line 9, for <i>Fortunatam</i> read <i>Fortunatum</i>
42, line 1, for <i>antistis</i> read <i>antistitis manu</i>	line 16, for <i>ἢν ἀγκασεν</i> read <i>ἢν ἀγκασεν</i>
43, line 3, after <i>ἄπλως</i> add <i>πᾶσι</i>	105, line 12, after <i>ἐπιτρέψῃ</i> add .
53, line 2, for <i>δοκιμάσῃ</i> read <i>δοκιμάση</i>	119, — 2, after <i>δεδομένης</i> add ,
56, line 6, for <i>ενσυνείδετοι</i> read <i>ενσυνείδητοι</i>	and for <i>ἀπαλλαττομένοις</i> read <i>ἀπαλλαττομένους</i>
57, line 1, after <i>εὐχαριστία</i> dele ,	141, line 6, after <i>διακόνους</i> dele .
line 2, for <i>Epistp</i> read <i>Epist.</i>	148, — 2, for <i>πισκόπων</i> read <i>ἐπισκόπων</i>
line 9, after <i>ἴστιν</i> add <i>τοῦτ</i> <i>ἴστιν</i> and after <i>ἐπισκόπου</i> add <i>καὶ περιστυτείουν</i>	150, line 3, for <i>μετὰ</i> read <i>μίν</i> — 4, for <i>ἐγκαταταγῆναι</i> read <i>ἐγκαταταγῆναι</i>
64, line 13, dele <i>τὸν πάντα λαὸν</i> and see pp. 89, 90	156, line 3, after <i>βούλησεως</i> add ,
67, — 2, instead of <i>celebramus</i> it should be <i>celebremus</i>	— 4, after <i>Κυρίου</i> add ,
69, line 5, for <i>ponderate</i> read <i>ponderare</i>	— 8, for <i>προτοκαθεδρίχ</i> read <i>πρωτοκαθεδρίχ</i>
79, line 11, after <i>μερίσαι</i> add ,	line 10, for <i>τίσσαροι</i> read <i>τέσσαροι</i>
— 16, for <i>μεδὲ</i> read <i>μηδὲ</i>	163, line 4, for <i>παραλαβεῖν</i> read <i>μεταλαβεῖν</i>
89, — 3, after <i>ἐπισκοπὴν</i> add ,	164, line 1, after <i>ὑπερστίας</i> add <i>ἐγενκ</i>
90, — 1, for <i>ἐνδόξω</i> read <i>ἐνδόξων</i>	176, line 11, after <i>possunt</i> read ?
— 6, for <i>ἐπικαθῆσθαι</i> read <i>ἐπικαθεσθῆναι</i>	for ,
line 7, after <i>μηνημονεύουσι</i> add ,	179, line 1, for <i>consilio</i> read <i>concilio</i>
line 10, for <i>ῷ</i> read <i>ῷ</i>	182, line 3, for <i>ἀκριβοῦσθαι</i> read <i>ἀκριβεῖας</i>
— 12, for <i>προθυμία πάσῃ</i> read <i>προθυμίᾳ πάσῃ</i>	line 5, after <i>παριστασθαι</i> add .
line 13, after <i>ἐπιβοῆσαι</i> add .	line 6, for <i>κυριολεκτρουμένων</i> read <i>κυριολεκτουμένων</i>
line 15, for <i>επισκοπῆς</i> read <i>ἐπισκοπῆς</i>	line 13, for <i>οἴον</i> read <i>οἴγε</i> and for <i>τῷν</i> read <i>τὸν</i>
	line 16, for <i>τῷ</i> read <i>τῷ</i>
	183, — 1, for <i>ῷ</i> read <i>τῷ</i> — 5, after <i>αυτοῖς</i> add ,

Page.	Page.
183, line 6, after Θεοῦ add ,	219, line 1, for βούλεσθε read βούλησθε
— 10, after πονητῷ add ·	231, line 6, after <i>devitare</i> in-
and for εἰ τα read εἰτα	— <i>serit</i> . and after <i>enim</i> insert
line 11, after τοῦ add ,	<i>superereditum damnationem</i>
— 14, after ευντῷ add ,	in eos
— 26, after γίνεται add ,	line 17, after τοιούδε add ,
184, — 12, for φυλάσσεις read	— 19, for ἀντὴν read ἀντὸν
φυλάσσει and for παιδεῖα read	232, — 10, after <i>modestia</i> dele ,
παιδεία	234, — 19, for ; read ?
line 13, after ἀπατηθῆναι	— 27, for <i>linimenta</i> read
add ,	<i>lineamenta</i>
line 14, for βλαβη read	235, line 6, for <i>nobilo</i> read <i>nu-</i>
βλαβῃ	<i>bilo</i>
line 15, for κακοτοχυα read	line 14, for <i>duce</i> <i>re</i> read
κακοτεχυα	<i>ducere</i>
line 20, after μορμολυκία	240, line 3, after προσπεσεῖν in-
add ,	— <i>serit</i> Ζεφυσίνω τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ and
185, line 5, for εισδεδοκέναι read	see passage quoted page 61
εισδεδυκέναι	241, line 3, for <i>noscitur</i> read
line 12, after ἵπαξχονσα	<i>nascitur</i>
add .	line 7, for <i>delictum</i> read
186, line 17, after ἀλλ' add ὥ	<i>delictorum</i>
187, — 3, after λέγοντος add ,	243, line 8, for <i>fuit</i> read <i>fuerit</i>
192, — 9 and 10, for τοῦ read	263, — 1, after <i>resopitid</i> add ,
τοῦ	— 2, after <i>convenimus</i>
195, line 2, for ἐξχομεναις read	add ,
ἐξχομενοις	264, line 1, for <i>plurimis</i> read
196, line 3, after εἰσάγουσιν	<i>plurimi</i>
add ,	271, line 4, for <i>datum</i> read
line 9, for προπικῶς read	<i>datam</i>
προπετῶς	line 16, for <i>decretum est</i>
199, line 2, after <i>respondent</i>	read <i>decreverit</i> (i.e. Corne-
add ,	lius cum episcopis &c.)
line 3, for <i>mandantur</i> read	276, line 5, after ἀντῶν add ·
<i>mandatur</i>	— 6, after εἰσήνεσται add —
207, line 17, for <i>quia</i> read <i>qui</i>	— 10, after εἰσήνεσον add ,
211, — 2, for χεῶν ται read	— 13, after <i>provinciis</i> add .
χεῶνται and after βητῷ add ,	277, — 2, after ἀπάντων add ,
line 3, after Πέτρος add ,	— 3, after ἀδελφοῖς add ,
— 6, after δεδμένα add ,	282, — 5, after <i>senserit</i> add ,
— 9, after λελύσθαι add ,	302, — 17, for <i>ut</i> read <i>et</i>
— 10, after λεγουσιν add ,	304, — 9, after ἐπιτρέψῃ read .
212, — 1, for τελικοῦτοι read	for ,
τηλικοῦτοι	line 12, after εκκλησία add ,
line 1, after εἰσιν add ,	

Page.	Page.
304, line 15, after δοκιμάσῃ add ,	305, line 23, after ἐστιν add ,
305, — 4. after πεάσσειν add ,	— 26, after θεοδέσμους add ,
— 5, after Θεοῦ add ,	— 28, after Χριστοῦ add ,
— 9, after Χριστοῦ insert —	— 29, after εἰσιν add .
line 14, after ὥν add ,	and for ὥνα read ὥσται
— 17, for πεάσσοντε read	line 31, after ἐκκλησίας add ,
πεάσσοντε	— 32, after ἐσονται add ,
line 18, after ἐμοῖν add ,	311, — 12, for <i>paterna</i> read
	paternæ

## REMARKS AND APPENDIX.

5, line 2, after <i>laici</i> for , read .	122, line 34, for 400 read 4
14, line 1, for 65 read 136	281, — 5, for <i>proportion</i> read <i>proposition</i>
23, — 29, for <i>Fussula</i> read <i>Fussala</i>	283, line 21, for <i>have</i> read <i>leave</i>
29, line 7, for ἐπὶ αὐτῷ τῷ read ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ	288, line 11, after <i>had</i> insert <i>relation</i>
36, line 24, for <i>drawup</i> read <i>draw up</i>	308, line 5, for <i>consequently</i> read <i>consequentially</i>
38, line 19, for <i>propositions</i> read <i>proposition</i>	344, line 22, for <i>respectable</i> read <i>repealable</i>
39, line 16, after <i>Tradition</i> dele ,	357, last line, for <i>satisfied</i> read <i>ratified</i>
87, — 13, for <i>seems</i> read <i>seem</i>	360, line 6, for <i>objections</i> read <i>objection</i>
94, — 6, for <i>ingenuous</i> read <i>ingenious</i>	

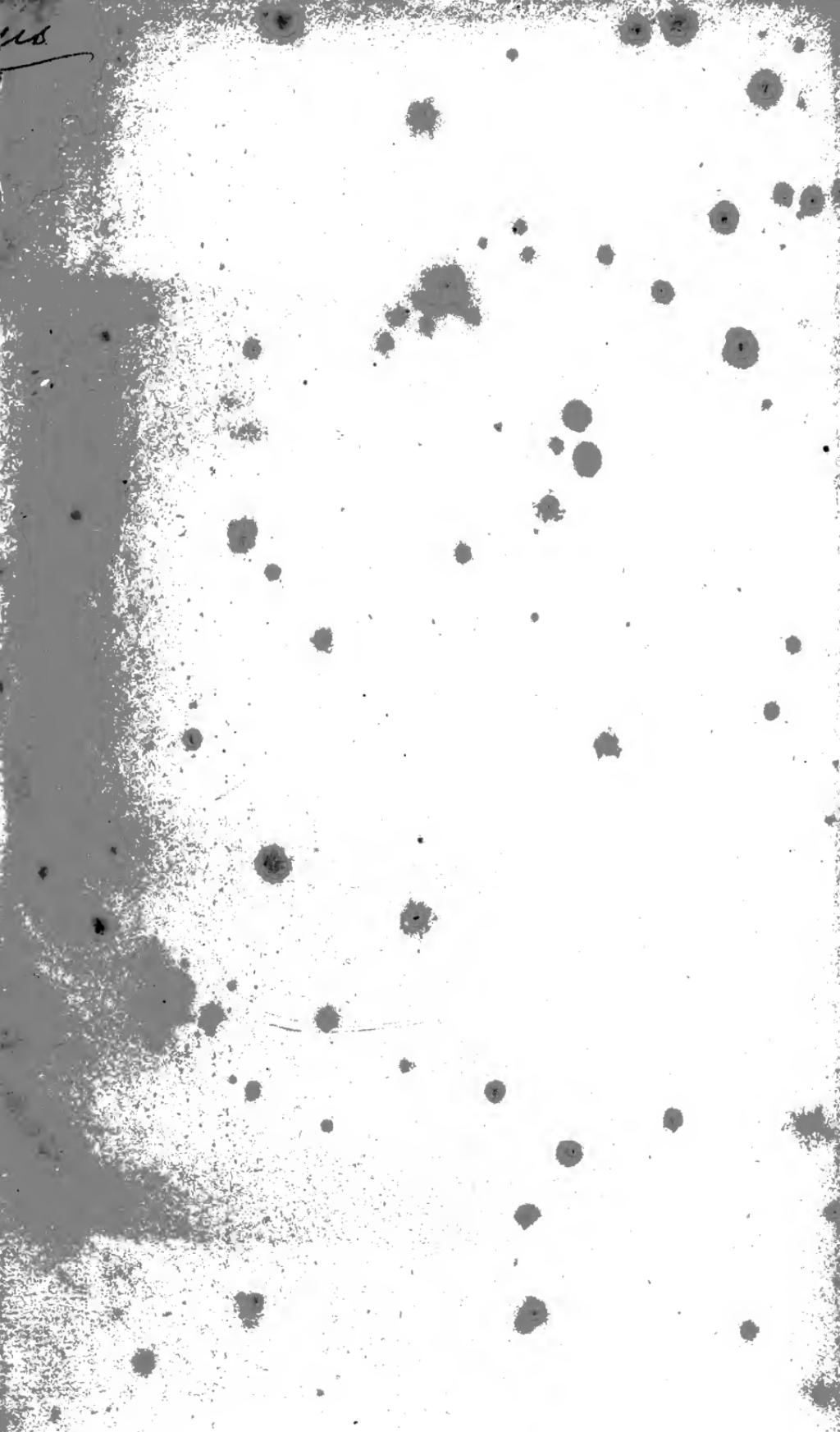
## MARGIN.

15, line 3, for <i>consil.</i> read <i>concil.</i>	60, line 5, for καθίσται read καθίσται
21, line 4, after ἐκκλησίας for τῷ read τῆς	61, line 2, for τῷ read τῷ — 3, for τὸν read τὸν — 5, for τῷν read τῷν
23, line 13, for <i>Fussula</i> read <i>Fussala</i>	63, — 11, for κατα read μετὰ
24, line 13, for σοφεῖ read σοφίᾳ	66, — 2, for <i>eoram</i> read <i>eorum</i>
29, line 2, for ἐπὶ αὐτῷ τῷ read ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ	67, line 4, for <i>fratram</i> read <i>fratrum</i>
30, line 1, for δοκιμάζῃ read δοκιμάσῃ	69, line 6, for <i>communices</i> read <i>communicet</i>
35, line 3, after <i>unum</i> dele , and after <i>altare</i> add ,	85, line 1, for §. 4. read §. 3.
49, last line, after ἐπισκέψου insert καὶ	94, line 3, for <i>prositus</i> read <i>prosiliit</i>

Page.  
 104, line 1, for §. 2. read §. 3.  
 112, — 1, for *τοῦ* read *τοῦ*  
 119, — 1, for *hors* read *non*  
 — 4, for *usque* read *ur-  
gere*  
 line 7, for *possit* read *pos-  
sint*  
 129, line 15, after *invocaretur*  
 add *et*  
 135, line 9, for *Polycarp.* read  
*Ephes*  
 150, line 1, for *ἴγκαταλαγῆναι*  
 read *ἴγκαταταγῆναι*  
 153, line 7, for *Οὗτος οἰα περὶ τῶν*  
 read *Οὗτος οἴα περὶ τῶν*  
 line 9, for *αξία* read *ἀξίαν*  
 165, — 5, for *ἀπονέμηται* read  
*ἀπονενέμηται*  
 178, line 8, after *εἰς* add *τὸ*  
 — 21, after *decimare* add ,  
 — 22, after *omnia* dele ,  
 213, — 2, for *ἴκκλησία* read  
*ἴκκλησίχ*  
 219, line 8, for *πολιτευμένους*  
 read *πολιτεομένους* and for  
*της* read *τῆς*  
 line 15, after *βούλησθε* add ,  
 — 17, for *τον Χριστον* read  
*τοῦ Χριστοῦ*  
 line 18, for *των* read *τῶν*

Page.  
 222, line 3, for *debent* read *de-  
beant*  
 223, line 11, for *mei* read *med*  
 225, — 10, for *palubundos* read  
*palabundos*  
 246, line 2, for *δημοσία* read  
*δημοσίχ*  
 258, line 6, for *ἀντοῦ τὴν* read  
*τὴν ἀντοῦ* and for *παξιστη-  
σας* read *παξιστήσας*  
 259, line 3, for *πλειόνων* read  
*πλειστων* and for *της* read *τῆς*  
 261, line 7, after *videatur* add  
*fuisse*  
 line 15, for *concilium* read  
*consilium*  
 274, line 2, after *Ibid.* add §. 4.  
 278, — 4, after *Συζίς* add ,  
 297, — 5, after *secundum* add ,  
 — 12, for *custodierunt*  
 read *custodiunt*  
 306, line 1, for *qualis* read  
*quales*  
 307, line 11, for §. 8. read §. 9.  
 327, — 4, for *συνεπιδήμησεν*  
 read *συνεπεδήμησεν*  
 328, line 2, after *οὐτως* dele ,  
 341, — 1, for 191 read 91  
 342, — 4, for *της* read *τὴν*  
 — 6, for *της* read *τῆς*





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